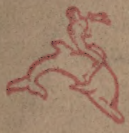
RAPHAEL

AND

MICHELANGELO:

A

CRITICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY.



BY

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TO

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW,

Poet, Novelist, and Scholar.

Dear Mr. Longfellow, —

This book, of which you have so kindly accepted the dedication, should begin with the first line of Lionardo da Vinci's only sonnet,

"Chi non può quel che vuol, quel che può voglia."

Unable to make it what I would, I have willed to make it what I could.

I thank you for having taken it under the protection of your name; and for having helped to make it in some measure worthy of this honor, by allowing me to insert your hitherto unpublished translations of several of Michelangelo's poems, which are so beautiful and at the same time so literal that even those who cannot read the originals may appreciate their sombre richness of thought and imagery. They will not only add to the great artist's admirers, but also, if possible, to those of his translator.

Faithfully yours,

CHARLES C. PERKINS.

Boston, December, 1877.

PREFACE.

THE bibliography of Michelangelo, compiled by Passerini, and published at Florence when the four hundredth anniversary of the great artist's death was solemnly celebrated by his compatriots, contains titles of works covering no less than one hundred and fifty-three widely printed pages, which treat of him directly or indirectly, and it may be safely said that, were there a bibliography of Raphael, it would be almost equal in length.

As in many of the books relating to the two artists their lives and works are fully and ably discussed, the publication of this volume may at first sight seem superfluous. My chief reason for hoping that it will not be so considered is that, as far as I know, Raphael and Michelangelo are here for the first time treated of conjointly, so far as facts allow, and opportunity for bringing out the distinctive peculiarities of each by force of contrast has thus been afforded, of which I have endeavored to take advantage.

It often happens that our interest in natural objects, to whose beauty we have through habit ceased to be consciously sensible, is revived, if through the operation of natural laws they are brought before us in a new light. Thus, when of late Mars and Saturn nightly approached each other until they seemed to be almost a unit, every one became a star-gazer. It may be that the conjunction of two art planets here arbitrarily effected will interest many who have long since ceased to read books about either in which their orbits are widely separated.

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CHAPTER I.

Raphael, 1483–1500.

Born April 6, 1483. Apprenticed to Perugino in 1500. Of this period no works are known.

RAPHAEL AND MICHELANGELO.

CHAPTER I.

"Raphael machte eben alles, was andere zu machen wünschten." — GOETHE.

HE province of Umbria, which stretches far inland from the Adriatic, contains some of the most picturesque scenery in Italy. It is a mountainous region, seamed by deep ravines, and full of rugged hills with towns perched like eagles' nests upon their summits. These have in many cases preserved much of their mediæval character, and none more so than Urbino, the birthplace of Raphael. Broken by many towers and campaniles, and crowned by the huge mass of the Ducal Palace, its picturesque outline stands against the sky, but little changed since the days when one of its humbler dwellings sheltered this child of genius. If this be true of the town, it is even more so of the surrounding country. What Count Castiglione, and the noble company who figure in the pages of his *Perfect Courtier* saw four centuries ago, when, after a night passed in discussing the laws of courtesy, they stood at an open window of the Ducal Palace, we may still see, "at the hour when the east is suffused with the lovely rose-color which precedes the dawn, when all the stars have paled their ineffectual fires, save Venus, that sweet mistress who keeps the boundaries of night and day under her control."

There, across the valley, are Monte Catria, whose summit rises 5,600 feet above the sea; Monte del Cavallo, so named from a famous race of horses bred by the later princes of Urbino in the luxuriant pastures at its base; Monte Nerone, the legendary abode of him who played while Rome burned; and the twin peaks, called the Sassi di Simeone, blue in the far distance towards the Tuscan frontier. To the north rise the triple peaks of San Marino, that tiny republic which, having kept the torch of liberty lighted through long centuries of surrounding darkness, has survived to see its hope-inspiring rays brighten into the daylight of freedom; and the Monte Carpegna, overlooking the cradle of that Montefeltrian race which gave those princes to Urbino, whose beneficent and paternal sway made the lot of its inhabitants so singularly fortunate.[1]

In the twelfth century they were feudal lords who, through the favor of Frederic Barbarossa,[2] were enabled to extend their dominion and increase their power, and who, on the accession of the second and greater Frederic, had their devotion to the imperial cause rewarded by the confirmation and extension of the privileges granted to them by his predecessor.

The first really historical Montefeltro is Count Guido. Speaking to Dante out of the midst of flames,[3] he tells him how he,

> "A man of arms, at first did clothe himself
> In good St. Francis' girdle, hoping so
> To have made amends. And certainly my hope
> Had failed not, but that he, whom curses light on,—
> The high-priest, — again seduced me into sin."

[1] J. Dennistoun's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino* (3 vols., Longmans, 1851) is the standard work upon their history.

[2] Antonio, first Lord of Montecoppiolo, or his son, was made Lord of Montefeltro by Frederic Barbarossa in 1154.

[3] *Inferno*, Canto XXVII. v. 67. It is uncertain whether the high-priest referred to is Celestine V. or his successor, Boniface VIII. If the latter, Count Guido's sin was his advice to that Pope to obtain possession of Palestrina, the stronghold of his enemies, the Colonna, by promising them a pardon which he never intended to give them, "a promettere assai, e mantener poco."

That so ardent a Ghibelline as the poet should have condemned the old count to a fiery expiation is not to be wondered at, for he had twice joined hands with the Guelphs when temporary reconciliations were effected between the two parties by Pope Celestine V., before he took the vows at the convent of St. Francis at Assisi, where he died in 1296, "in the odor of sanctity."[4]

Nearly a century after his death the house of Montefeltro, whose representatives had struggled with neighboring princes, suffered from Papal vengeance, and endured expatriation, was reinstated in the person of Antonio, a dutiful son of the Church, then governed by Boniface IX. During the great schism which followed, his son and successor Guid' Antonio espoused the cause of Gregory XII.; but when it was closed by the elevation of Martin V. to the Papacy, he made his peace with the Pope, and was appointed gonfaloniere of the Church, and Vicar-General of the Romagna. He was succeeded by his dissolute son, Odd' Antonio, after whose assassination, which relieved his dominions of a monster, Federigo, the natural son of Guid' Antonio, was raised to power. With the accession of this prince the duchy entered upon its golden age. Pre-eminent among Italian princes as a man of his word, at a time when to break faith was a common practice, and distinguished as a beneficent and paternal ruler, at a period when the governed were generally regarded as existing only for the advantage and profit of their superiors in power, Federigo had rivals in arms like the Sforza, and equals in the patronage of arts and letters like the Medici, but he stood alone in those moral qualities which become a prince even more than courage and æsthetic sense.

Born in 1422, he was early sent to Venice as a hostage, studied arms at Mantua under the Marquis Gian Francesco Gonzaga, and letters under that model among tutors, Vittorino de' Rambaldini da Feltro (b. 1328, d. 1447), whom the marquis had intrusted with the education of his daughter and his two sons. His love for his pupils is fitly symbolized

[4] ". . . . religiosissime in sacra Assisiensi domo obiit." — ANGELI, *Storia del Convento di Assisi.*

upon the reverse of his medal, by the pelican plucking the feathers from her breast to feed her young (Plate I. No. 1), and well expressed by the name of the "Joyful Habitation," which was given to the house where they pursued their studies with fellow-students from Italy, France, Germany, and even Greece. In the "Joyful Habitation" gayety was tempered by sobriety, and games succeeded studies. The eminent professors who taught grammar, dialectics, arithmetic, Greek, Latin, dancing, music, and equitation under the direction of Vittorino, had, we are assured, so great an affection for him, that they gave their lessons gratuitously.[5] The young Federigo was here fitted for the high duties of his future position, and we cannot wonder that from the day when he assumed them, he discharged them with the utmost fidelity. Treating his subjects like his children, and regarded by them with filial affection, he appointed officers whose special duty it was to inquire into their wants, and himself made sure by personal inspection that those wants were supplied. His second wife, Battista Sforza, daughter of the Lord of Pesaro, whom he married after the death of his first wife, Gentile de' Brancaleoni, was one of the most learned, accomplished, and charming women of her time. When not occupied in defending his territory from the incursions of such watchful enemies as the Malatesta, or on active service as a condottiere, Federigo passed his life in the society of his amiable duchess and that of the eminent men of letters who frequented the court. He built the splendid Ducal Palace at Urbino, and collected an immense number of manuscripts and printed books for its library.[6]

[5] P. Guingerie, *Hist. Littéraire d'Italie*, Vol. III. p. 251, *et seq.*

[6] Many of the gems of the duke's library are preserved at the Vatican, as, for example, the famous Bible in Latin, and the Hebrew Bible, probably executed in Italy A. D. 1295, which ranked as one of the finest in Italy. The palace and its literary and artistic treasures are described by Giovanni Santi, the father of Raphael, in the *Rhymed Chronicle*, which he composed in honor of Federigo, as also by Count Castiglione in the *Corteggiano*, Lib. I. p. 7. Lyons, 1575. The original manuscript of the *Chronicle* is in the Vatican Library, No. 1305, Cod. Ottoboniani. Copious extracts from it are given in the Appendix to the French translation of G. B. Passavant's *Life of Raphael*, Vol. I. Paris, 1860.

A Dalmatian named Lutiano Lauranna was appointed head master and engineer to the duke by letters-patent issued at Pavia in 1468, but it is probable that the palace had been commenced several years earlier, perhaps by some other architect.[7] Though imposing by reason of its immense size and striking position, its exterior effect is somewhat unsatisfactory. The towers appear disproportionately high, and the combination of palace, church, and convent in one building is perplexing to the eye. It is, however, a noble pile, and the many interesting associations which cluster about it are enough to make it beautiful in the traveller's eyes. The ground-floor offers little of interest, but the second story, which is reached by a truly regal staircase, is rich in as perfect examples of decorative sculpture as are to be found in any of the Renaissance palaces of Italy. The marble architraves, doorposts, lintels, and chimney-pieces of the great hall and the rooms opening out of it are covered with trophies, amorini, arabesques and heraldic devices sculptured by Ambrogio da Milano in the purest style of the fifteenth century, with the most exquisite taste.[8] The rose-bushes and carnations upon the chimney-jambs in the second room show the closest attention to the structure of the plants and to their principle of growth, and are as charming examples of the right use of plant-forms in ornament from a naturalistic point of view, as are the birds and amorini of that of animal forms. Well may Giovanni Santi praise "li mirabil fogliami, ond'egli (Ambrogio) agguaglia gli antichi in cio."

[7] Certain conclusions as to the period when different parts of the edifice were constructed are drawn from the initial letters carved upon them. Where the letters F. C. occur, as upon the lower story, we know that it must have been built while Federigo was still Count of Urbino; where we find F. D., as upon the great staircase, the date must be after 1474, in which year he was raised to the rank of a Duke. Dennistoun (*History of the Dukes of Urbino*, Vol. I. p. 147) says the palace was commenced in 1454. Baldinucci says, 1447. Lauranna was succeeded by Baccio Pintelli as architect. (See Gaye's *Carteggio*, Vol. I. pp. 274–276; also the same author's article in the *Kunstblatt*, Oct. 27, 1836.)

[8] *Die Herzogliche Palast von Urbino*, by Friedrich Arnold, Leipzig, T. O. Weigel, 1857, contains excellent lithographs of its sculptured decorations.

To one who has some knowledge of sculpture, liberty to wander through and to work in the vast halls and corridors of such a palace gives a pleasure which once enjoyed can never be forgotten. While the pencil threads its way through the intricate designs of Ambrogio, the mind reverts to the past, and the stately forms of the noble dead who once peopled these marble halls, and enlivened them with their words of wit and wisdom, revive and pass before you. First comes Federigo, not as he appears in his well-known portrait by Piero della Francesca at the Uffizi, which was painted after the lance of an antagonist in the lists had marred his comely features, but as he was at the commencement of a reign whose bright lustre, like that of a lighted torch brought into a dark place, dispelled the gloom which had shrouded Urbino during that of his predecessor. Hand in hand with her noble spouse walks Battista Sforza, —

"d'onestate altera,
Di pompa signorile, e d'alto ingegno,
E di tutte virtu lucente sfera," —

she who, at the age of twenty, addressed the learned Æneas-Sylvius (Pope Pius II.), at Milan, in a Latin improvisation of such elegance that he declared himself unable to answer her fitly; who graced the court of Urbino by her virtues and accomplishments, and seconded her husband in all his arduous enterprises; and who, when thinking herself dying while he was absent,

"Con un solo altissimo desio
Stava, di rivedere il suo Signore
Vittorioso, e poi tornar a Dio";

and when he came, embraced him for the last time, placed their dearly bought son Guidobaldo in his arms, and then

"Chiuse quel santo, onesto e grave ciglio,
Rendendo l'alma al ciel divotamente,
Libera e sciolta dal mondan periglio."

Behind his worthy parents walks the young Guidobaldo, his long fair hair crowned by the little round cap of velvet which he wears in

his portrait at the Palazzo Colonna. He also holds a fair and virtuous lady by the hand, Elizabetta Gonzaga, daughter of the Marquis of Mantua (Plate I. No. 2), who presided as his wife over the *réunions* described in the pages of the *Corteggiano*, and was in every respect worthy to succeed her husband's mother as Duchess of Urbino. Next comes a grave and learned personage, the Count Ottaviano Ubaldini, the tutor of the young duke, who exercised absolute authority over him, from the time of his father's death until, at the age of fourteen, he won his spurs upon the battle-field. After him follow the ladies in waiting, headed by Emilia Pia (Plate I. No. 3), the widow of the Lord of Carpi, one of the brightest ornaments of the court. Then come the brave and noble Genoese brothers Fregoso, — Ottaviano, who freed his country from the French and was created Duke of Genoa, and Federigo, Archbishop of Salerno, versed in letters sacred and profane; and behind them Giuliano de' Medici, brother of Leo X.; Cæsar Gonzaga, who died young, just when "he had begun to show more than hopeful qualities"; Cardinal Bembo, the chief ornament of the court of Leo X., who, to use the exaggerated language of his biographer, "opened a new Augustan age, emulated Cicero and Virgil with like success, and rivalled the elegance and purity of Petrarch and Boccaccio in his writings"; Cardinal Bernardo da Bibbiena, author of *La Calandra*, one of the earliest comedies produced in modern times;[9] Count Balthasar Castiglione, author of the *Corteggiano*, the friend of Michelangelo, and of Raphael, who painted that admirable portrait of him now at the Louvre to which he himself, under the name of his wife, addressed one of the most perfect of modern Latin sonnets. After these come other men of letters, together with a crowd of poets, musicians, and artists, such as Justus of Ghent, Piero della Francesca, Gentile da Fabriano, Ambrogio da Milano, and Giovanni Santi with the young Raphael, whose golden hair is cut straight across his forehead as in the fresco by his father at Cagli, and whose innocent eyes have that far-away look which tells us that he has already begun to see visions and dream inspired dreams.

[9] Abbate Saverio Bettinelli, *Del risorgimento d'Italia*, Vol. II. p. 105.

As they pass on and vanish with the rest, our reverie is broken by the custode's "Si chiude, Signore," and, gathering up our belongings, we go forth again into the world of to-day, grateful for the hours during which we have been allowed to forget it.

It would be ungracious, however, to leave the palace without saying a word about the *Corteggiano*, which contains so graphic an account of its former inmates. As its author modestly tells us in his Preface, "it is a painted portrait of the court of Urbino, not indeed from the hand of a Raphael or a Michelangelo, but from that of a second-rate artist, who knows how to put in the outlines correctly, but who cannot fill them in with lovely colors, and by the help of perspective make them appear real to the eye." Its object is to portray the perfect courtier, such a courtier, in short, "that the prince who is worthy to be served by him, no matter how small his principality may be, shall be rightly considered a great man among princes." This is done in a series of conversations between the eminent men and women of the court, who meet together every evening. "At Urbino," says Count Castiglione, "all the hours of the day were occupied in honorable and pleasant exercises of body and of mind; but as it happened that the duke, on account of his infirmity (the gout), went to bed very soon after supper, the company generally adjourned to the apartment of the duchess, where the Signora Emilia Pia, who was endowed with lively understanding and judgment, took the lead, and inspired all with her wisdom and strength. At the sight of the duchess supreme content beamed from all faces. She was as a chain which united those who met together under her gentle sway in such friendly feeling, that never was there greater unity of will, or more cordial affection, than between them." Music, dancing, and conversation, often prolonged until dawn broke over the Apennines, filled up the hours of the night. On one occasion the Signora Emilia Pia proposed "that each one should say with what especial virtue he or she would desire to see his or her beloved one adorned, and also what defect he or she could best tolerate in him or her, since every one must have some defect"; the object

being to discover what are the highest virtues, and what the least objectionable defects. After discussing this question, Federigo Fregoso proposes that one of the company should give his idea of all the conditions and special qualities which are necessary to the perfect courtier and the perfect court lady. The highest gifts and accomplishments are bestowed by the speakers upon each, so that no one quality of mind or body needful to manly or womanly perfection is forgotten. Despite the presence of such models of womanhood as the duchess and Emilia Pia, two of the disputants dare to maintain the general inferiority of the female sex, and one of them, Don Gasparo, — whose ideal of a perfect female courtier, as Donna Emilia tells him, is a woman "who only knows how to cook and to sew," — jeeringly asks Giuliano de' Medici, the champion of the sex, why it happens that, having ascribed all virtues and capacities to women, he does not advise that they should be made governors of cities, and legislators, and captains of armies, leaving the men at home to attend to household duties. To this Giuliano, who has previously declared that all men of worth esteem and reverence woman, and consider her qualities and consequent titles to respect in no wise inferior to those of man, makes answer: "And if I did so advise, perhaps I should not be much in the wrong. Do you not know that Plato, who had no very high opinion of women, makes them guardians of the city, and gives all martial offices to men? Do you not believe that many women are quite as capable as men of governing cities and armies?" This shows us that the woman question was a mooted one long before our day, in a country which was at the time famous for women of extraordinary gifts and attainments. The last chapter of the *Perfect Courtier* is devoted to the discussion of the question, as to what is the highest beauty in man or woman; and the conclusions arrived at are those of Plato, Savonarola, and other great Idealists, that the good and the beautiful are identical, and this especially in "human bodies, whose chief beauty is the beauty of the soul, which, as it is an emanation from the Divine Source of beauty, makes that beautiful with which it comes in contact, unless the body

is of such vile material that the soul cannot make any impression upon it."

"Beauty," says Cardinal Bembo, "is the sign that the soul, by reason of its divine power, has won a victory over matter, and with its light has dispelled the darkness of the body." In the same spirit Savonarola said, in one of his sermons at Florence,[10] "Compare two equally beautiful women, the one virtuous, the other vicious, and you will see that the first is of an almost angelic beauty, with which that of the other cannot be compared. This is so because the good soul partakes of the beauty of God, and radiates its celestial loveliness through the body." So also Castiglione, in almost the very words of Plato, declares "that through the perception of individual beauty we rise to the perception of universal beauty, and thus at last arrive at a conception of divine beauty."

It is well to know that while Alexander VI. ruled at Rome, and Lorenzo de' Medici at Florence, there were men like Savonarola who uttered such sentiments as these; and that while Leo X. sat more like a pagan emperor than a Pope upon St. Peter's chair, and not only tolerated but applauded comedies like *La Calandra* at the Vatican, there was such a court in Italy as that of Urbino, where virtuous women and high-minded men were rather the rule than the exception, and where lofty sentiments could be publicly professed, without fear of ridicule or risk of contempt.

It is not necessary to follow Guidobaldo through the complicated mazes of political events in which he was constantly entangled. Suffice it to say that he was twice driven out of his states by Cæsar Borgia, who, having made himself master of the Romagna, seized upon the duchy of Urbino and obliged him to take refuge in the Venetian territory, which he reached with great difficulty, owing to his disabled condition. After the death of Alexander VI. and the downfall of his infamous son, the duke adopted Francesco Maria della Rovere,

[10] Third sermon of the course on the Prophet Haggei. Villari, *Vita di Savonarola*, Vol. I. p. 472.

nephew of Pope Julius II., as his heir, and thenceforward maintained the most amicable relations with the Holy See.

As the political history of Umbria is henceforward connected with Guidobaldo's successor, Francesco Maria della Rovere, and his uncle, Pope Julius II., we will now take up its artistic history prior to the time of Raphael, who, though by far the greatest of Umbrian masters, was by no means the earliest. He was in fact the latest born, the Benjamin of a school which since the thirteenth century had produced painters and workers in mosaic of more than ordinary ability, at Gubbio, Perugia, Foligno, and Fabriano. The artists in these different towns knew little of each other until the time when they began to study the frescos at Assisi, and were thus brought into contact. Our knowledge of the first famous Umbrian painter, Oderigi Bonagiunta, generally called Oderigi d'Agobbio, miniaturist and illuminator, is due to Dante. In the eleventh canto of the *Purgatorio* he tells us how he met one bending beneath a weight like that we sometimes feel in dreams, and thus addressed him:—

> "'Art not thou Oderigi? Art not thou
> Agobbio's glory, glory of that art
> Which they of Paris call the limner's skill?'[11]
> 'Brother,' said he, 'with tints that gayer smile
> Bolognian Franco's pencil limns the leaves.'"

We do not know the year of his birth,[12] but it is clear from this

[11] Certain French writers (see Aucassin and Nicolette, *Pater's Studies*, p. 1) assert that in this line Dante intended to express his belief that miniature-painting originated in Paris; but we cannot accept this inference, as he certainly knew that both Italy and France inherited the art from Byzantium, and that, had it not been for the Greek miniaturists during the Dark Ages, painting would have been a lost art. He clearly meant to point out that in Paris the adorning of manuscripts with pictures in miniature is called "illuminating." The last line, in which Oderigi designates the gay and cheerful appearance of Franco's miniatures by the words "Piu ridon' le carte," specifies the peculiar characteristic of the early paintings of the school of Urbino, which were always bright, clear, transparent, and gay in color. Franco of Bologna was the pupil of Oderisio, and, as it would seem, painted in even brighter colors than his master.

[12] Baldinucci says before 1300. See *Vasari* (Le Monnier, ed.), Vol. I. p. 321.

mention of him that he died in the early part of the fourteenth century. In 1264–5 he was living at Gubbio, and in 1295 at Rome, where Dante may have known him. No certain works from his hand exist, but Cavalcaselle conjectures that the miniatures which adorn the pages of two Masses in the Archivio de' Canonici at Rome may have been painted by him.[13] Another Umbrian painter, Guido Palmerucci (1280–1345), who was driven into exile with other Ghibellines when Napoleone Orsini, rector of the duchy of Spoleto, took and sacked Gubbio in the year 1300, and not permitted to return for eighteen years, may have been brought into contact with Dante through his acquaintance with Bosone de Raffaelle,[14] but he is not mentioned in the *Divina Com-*

[13] They represent scenes from the lives of the Virgin and St. George, and are painted with the "gay transparent colors, the peculiar choice of harmonies, the richness of ornament, and minuteness of detail peculiar to the Umbrians, and without recognition of the great maxims of composition which were only possessed by the artists of Florence." — *History of Painting in Italy*, Vol. II. p. 184.

[14] The Gubbian exile who brought Dante back with him from Arezzo to Gubbio, and lodged him in his own house. This was in 1318. It has been supposed that Dante taught Greek to Bosone's son. The father, who survived his illustrious friend, became imperial vicar at Pisa, and Roman senator. He was one of the earliest commentators of the *Divina Commedia*, and also wrote a romance called *l'Avventuroso Ciciliano*. The house of Bosone in which Dante lived at Gubbio has an inscription upon it, "more Italiano," commemorative of the fact, and the street in which it stands is called the Strada di Dante. Dante spent a part of the year 1318 in the monastery of Avellana, S^ta^ Croce di Fonte, on Monte Catria, about twenty miles from Gubbio. Here he probably wrote the 20th–25th cantos of the *Paradiso*. His room is still shown to the traveller. It contains a bust of the Altissimo Poeta and this inscription :—

"Hic mansit Dante Alighierius Poeta
Et carmina scripsit."

The site of the monastery is thus described in the twenty-first canto of the *Paradiso*, v. 106, *et seq.* :—

"'Twixt either shore
Of Italy, nor distant from thy land,
A stony ridge ariseth ; in such sort
The thunder doth not lift his voice so high.
They call it Catria, at whose foot a cell
Is sacred to the lonely Eremite [S. Pier Damiani] ;
For worship set apart, and holy rites."

See Balbi, *Vita di Dante*, p. 388, *et seq.*

media. "Under the eyes and in response to the songs of Dante and Bosone," says a late writer upon the painters of the Umbrian school, "Palmerucci, their brother in art and in exile, confided the inspirations of his fancy to his brush, and upon the roofs and walls of the silent churches of Gubbio portrayed a people of angels and of saints."[15] His works there and at Cagli are gigantic miniatures, replete with the tender softness of the early Umbrian painters, and one of them, a St. Anthony, at S. Maria Nuova di Gubbio, is especially interesting as an indication of the source whence the school of Perugia took its rise.[16]

A fresh impulse was given to the development of the Umbrian school by Gentile da Fabriano, one of the really great Italian painters of the fifteenth century, and by Ottaviano, the son and scholar of Martino Nelli, whose best work is the Madonna called "del Belvidere" in the church of Santa Maria Nuova at Gubbio.[17] Its brightly colored angels and saints are grouped around the Madonna, who sits in their midst holding the infant Jesus upon her knee. Their faces are full of a gentle sweetness, but neither mystic nor elevated in character. The sweetness of the Virgin and the radiant expression of the angels fill M. Rio[18] with an ineffable ecstasy, but to the prosaic Cavalcaselle the picture is nothing but a "simple combination of saints and angels of different sizes cast symmetrically on a blue ground." The extreme contrast between these two judgments shows how the point of view taken by men of very opposite temperaments may influence their opinion about a work of art, which is after all of a rather neutral character.[19]

[15] *Niccolo' Alunno e la scuola Umbra*, by S. Frenfanelli Cibo, p. 16.

[16] See Cavalcaselle (Vol. II. p. 187), who calls the St. Anthony "a natural forerunner of Perugino's splendid saints in the Sala del Cambio at Perugia." Perugia produced nothing of value in the fourteenth century, but in the fifteenth followed the style of the Gubbian painters.

[17] The Arundel Society has published a chromo-lithograph of this work, which was painted in 1403.

[18] *De l'Art Chrétien*, Vol. II. p. 155.

[19] Ottaviano Nelli painted a series of mediocre frescos upon the walls of the chapel of the Palazzo Trinci at Foligno, representing episodes from the life of the Virgin. The Trinci

Ottaviano Nelli's fellow-pupil, Gentile da Fabriano (born between 1360 and 1370, died about 1450), was an artist of far higher rank, who though he lived in Florence in the days of Paolo Uccelli and Brunelleschi, remained a true Umbrian in his art. His masterpiece, the Adoration of the Magi, in the Academy at Florence (painted in 1423), is Umbrian, like his other works, in its want of aerial perspective, its abundant use of gilt ornament in relief, its minute finish, absence of shadow, and bright contrasts of color. Although he has been called both master and pupil of Fra Angelico, Gentile had nothing in common with him save a love of finish, for the angelic candor and mysticism which formed the essence of Fra Beato's art were unknown to him.[20]

Fra Angelico and his scholar Benozzo Gozzoli both took from and gave to Umbria. It was about 1409 that Fra Angelico and the Dominican monks of his convent at Fiesole stole silently out of its gates at midnight, and, pilgrims for conscience' sake, directed their steps towards the Tuscan frontier. Their prior, Antonio da Milano, had been thrown into prison by order of the superior, because he persisted in adhering to the party of Pope Gregory XII., who, together with Benedict XIII.,

were the great Ghibelline lords of Foligno, who like the Montefeltros of Urbino and the Malatestas of Rimini, though in a less degree, patronized letters and the arts. In 1439 they were driven out by the papal partisans, led by a martial Cardinal, Vitelleschi, and it is said that Eugenius IV., who imprisoned Corrado Trinci and his two sons in the Castle of Seriano near Viterbo, caused them to be strangled there. The very next year Foligno received what the chronicler (Pietro degli Unti) describes in words which paint the temper of these tempestuous times as the "delightful news," — "la buonissima novella," — that this very Cardinal Vitelleschi who had expelled the Trinci had received five wounds from the hand of the "castellano" of the Castle of St. Angelo at Rome.

[20] When Rogier van der Weyden saw Gentile's now destroyed frescos at S^ta^ Francesca Romana, he called him the greatest of Italian painters, perhaps, as Passavant remarks, because he saw in them a reflex of his own qualities. Gentile, however, did not approach Van der Weyden in such power of expression as he showed in his Deposition from the Cross in the Museum at Antwerp. Gentile was the master of Jacopo Bellini, the founder of the Venetian school, who followed him to Florence when he went there in 1422, and served him as his apprentice, or "garzone di bottega." He died at Rome, whither he was called by Pope Martin V., about 1450, and was buried at S^ta^ Francesca Romana.

had been deposed by the Council at Pisa and replaced by a third pope, Alexander V. Upon this the monks, seeing no safety but in flight, determined to go to Foligno, where they could safely support the cause of Gregory. There, after a long journey, they were received with rejoicings by their brothers of the same persuasion in the Dominican convent. Having thus escaped from the uncongenial atmosphere of Florence, which had become impregnated with the love of classic art and classic literature, into a region where such ideas had not penetrated, Fra Angelico found a congenial spirit in Federigo Frezzi,[21] the prior of the convent at Foligno, where he long resided. With him Fra Angelico doubtless studied the *Paradiso*, and fed his spirit upon its mystical language. Together they must have often climbed the steep path which leads up the mountain-side to Assisi, to study those works of the early Tuscan painters which were so well calculated to strengthen in the painter monk that love of religious art, of which he was to be the peculiar exponent among the Florentines. In the convent at Foligno he found miniature-painters working in a truly devotional spirit, and in the churches of that city he saw the works of a past generation of painters, who had been bred up within the region which the spirit of St. Francis long kept under its gentle sway.[22] Upon Mezzastro, Alunno, and other Umbrian painters of his time Angelico had a decided influence, as well as upon the development of the school of Perugia which, though it held an insignificant place in the fourteenth century, led the Umbrian school in the fifteenth. This influence was strengthened by his scholar, Benozzo Gozzoli, whose early works at Montefalco, begun

[21] This Dominican monk, who was one of the most eminent poets of his time, wrote in the spirit of Dante, and was one of the first promoters of the study of the *Divina Commedia* in Italy.

[22] As St. Francis among Roman Catholic saints, so is Fra Angelico among Roman Catholic painters, an ideal of sanctity and goodness. Self-abnegation, love of their fellows and of all created things for their Creator's sake, coupled with an absence of ambition and an unrivalled gentleness, meekness, and purity, are the distinguishing characteristics of both, and these qualities are perhaps more remarkable in the painter because he lived at a time when they were far less in harmony with surrounding influences.

in the very year when he had parted company with his master at Florence (1449), are replete with his spirit. They represent scenes from the life of St. Francis, whose shrine (Assisi), seen across the beautiful valley of the Clitumnus, looks like a speck upon the Apennines. Though Gozzoli cannot be said to have rivalled his master or even approached him in his peculiar walk, some of his works at Montefalco, especially a Virgin and Child with seven lovely angels in a lunette, and a second Madonna group at S^{ta} Fortunata, have mystic qualities which warrant us in ranking him, at that period of his life, as a worthy pupil of the Blessed Painter.[23] For the time he was a stranger to the intellectual movement which was going on, and the great political changes which were taking place in the world around him. At Montefalco he was raised as upon a rock, out of the reach of those rising waters of paganism, which even before this had left their mark upon the doors of St. Peter's Church at Rome and upon the walls of the Temple of St. Francis at Rimini. Over Umbria, where religious feeling in art manifested itself longest, these waters were not as yet to flow, and the torch which Giotto and Cavallini had lighted at the altar-fires of Assisi was to pass unquenched from the hands of Perugino into those of the young Raphael.

Unlike the Umbrian painters of the earlier period, those of the next generation were more or less affected both by the Sienese and Florentine schools. The mystical, graceful, and tender style of such Sienese painters as Domenico and Taddeo di Bartolo, who found their way to Umbria, affected the pleasing, gentle, and passionless manner of its native artists, and blended naturally congenial elements; while at the same time the scientific knowledge of such artists of the Florentine school as Piero della Francesca made Giovanni Santi and other painters of his day acquainted with the artifices of linear perspective and foreshortening, of which their predecessors, Palmerucci, Nelli, and Nuzi da Fabriano, were ignorant. Unscientific, like the Florentines of

[23] He completed the frescos at S. Francesco in 1452, the natal year of L. da Vinci and Savonarola.

their day, these latter were not, like some of them, capable of the fervor of religious feeling which shows itself in the Pietà in the Lower Church at Assisi, painted by Giotto's pupil, Pietro Cavallini, so full of a sad, tender, and deep sentiment, not to be met with in their works. We are at a loss to account for this in men who lived within the range of the influences which radiated from Assisi, and cannot explain it by the supposition that they lived more out of their studios, and mixed more in politics, than their Tuscan brethren, for neither troubled themselves about anything but art, which in the fourteenth century was greatly under the control of the Church. Palmerucci was an ardent Ghibelline, but he was an exception to the general rule. Dante may have influenced him in favor of the Imperial party, but this is mere conjecture. He was intimate with Giotto, and yet we know that that great painter worked for men of all parties and monks of all colors, as Niccola Pisano did for the Emperor Frederic II. and for his mortal enemy Charles of Anjou, for the Dominicans at Bologna and the Franciscans at Padua. And so was it with the Umbrian masters for the most part. Ottaviano Nelli, who was an active citizen of Urbino and held a civic office, worked for the Trinci whom the Church anathematized, and Maestro Bartolomeo of Foligno represented the excommunicated bishop, Rinaldo Trinci, kneeling tranquilly before the Madonna, as if indifferent to the thunderbolts of the Roman See, which were launched against him and his family on account of their Ghibellinism. Evidently, however, they were not bigoted politicians or churchmen, nor were they, judging from their works, artists of strong religious sentiment. They kept alive the traditions of Oderisio, as the Giotteschi did those of Giotto, and were not receptive enough to feel foreign influences when brought in contact with them. This is more or less true also of their successors in the fifteenth century; almost entirely so of Gentile da Fabriano, to a great extent of Niccolo di Liberatore da Foligno, better known as Alunno,[24] and not a little of Pietro Perugino, who main-

[24] This artist's real name was Niccolo di Liberatore de' Mariani. See *I Pittori de' Foligno*, by Adamo Rossi, Perugia, 1872.

tained the repose and dignity of his style in all its freshness, although he lived and worked so much out of Umbria. The school to which he belonged by birth and natural affinity was eminently contemplative, like the Sienese. It developed from within, was subjective, seeking its inspirations in the soul; while the Florentine school of the second half of the fifteenth century, which passed into the idealistic school of Masaccio out of the symbolical, historical, and to some extent dramatic school of Giotto, was as markedly objective, nourishing itself from without, studying to imitate and reproduce natural objects without selection, and growing less spiritual as it became more scientific.

Among the Umbrian artists of the fifteenth century not yet spoken of is Giovanni Santi, who, besides his personal claim upon our attention, is specially interesting as the father and first instructor of Raphael. Cavalcaselle goes too far perhaps on the one hand, in speaking of him as one of the men who contributed to the brilliancy of the constellation in which Piero della Francesca, Mellozzo da Forli, and Luca Signorelli shone with such conspicuous lustre, and Grimm[25] too far on the other, in saying that his pictures are only interesting as the work of Raphael's father. He was not indeed a man of genius, but a painstaking, conscientious artist, who availed himself of those opportunities for improvement which the visits of eminent artists from other parts of Italy to Urbino brought within his reach, and thus acquired a technical skill far surpassing that of Palmerucci or Nelli. He was born towards the end of the first half of the fifteenth century at Colbordolo, a little castellated town on the summit of a mountain in the duchy of Urbino. His family name of Sante or Santi, afterwards changed to Sanctius or Sanzio, had been represented at Colbordolo for a century before his birth, and might have continued to be so in his own person, had not Sigismund Malatesta, the mortal enemy of the Count of Urbino, laid the greater part of it in ashes, A. D. 1446.

[25] *Das Leben Raphaels*, Vol. I. p. 49. "Ware er nicht der Vater Raphaels, so würden sie schwerlich interesse erwecken."

The fearful night when his "paternal nest was devoured by fire," [26] which lived in the boy's recollection, led to the removal of the family to Urbino,

Fig. 1.

where his grandfather Peruzzolo, fearful of the return of Malatesta, and hoping to better his fortunes, established himself four years later. Here Sante, the father of Giovanni, carried on so successful a trade as a huckster, or vender of small wares, that after some years he was able to buy a house in the Contrada del Monte, No. 276, now famous as the birthplace of Raphael (Fig. 1), where he lived with his two sons,

[26] "Dachè la fortuna divoro el paternel mio nido in fuoco." — Dedication of the *Cronaca Rimata* to Guidobaldo.

Giovanni and Bartolomeo, and his two daughters, Margherita and Santa. Bartolomeo became a priest, while his brother followed the paternal trade, and tried other ways of gaining a living until he was nearly thirty years old, when he began to study painting, "which admirable art," as he tells us, "would be a heavy burden for the shoulders of Atlas."[27]

At such an age the difficulties which he met with in his new profession may well have seemed formidable to him, and it is not a little remarkable that, although his shoulders were not of Atlantean strength, he eventually carried his burden so creditably. Pungileoni[28] suggests that the frescos at Urbino by the brothers Jacopo and Lorenzo da San Severino may have influenced his style, but their character is too Giottesque to render this probable.[29] Either Paolo Uccello, who came to Urbino in 1468, or Piero della Francesca, who followed him in the succeeding year, and was lodged in Giovanni's house at the expense of the Company of the Corpus Domini while painting an altar-piece for their chapel, or Melozzo da Forli, of whom he speaks so warmly in his Chronicle, may have instructed him.[30] But we suspect that

[27] "El quale sarebbe grave agli omeri de Atalante." — Dedication of the *Cronaca Rimata* to Guidobaldo.

[28] *Elogio Storico di Gio Santi*, p. 4.

[29] They were painted in 1416.

[30] In the Vision, which forms a preface in nine books to the twenty-three books of the Chronicle containing the history of Duke Federigo, Giovanni, guided by Plutarch, visits the Elysian Fields, where he sees the shades of illustrious Greeks and Romans, converses with eminent Mediævalists, as also with the ancestors of the Dukes of Urbino, and with Jupiter, Apollo, and Mars, under whose names he describes some of his contemporaries. The first twelve books of the Chronicle recount the deeds of Duke Federigo, and the thirteenth book contains an account of the illness and death of his wife, Battista Sforza. The fourteenth tells of all the edifices erected by the duke, among which the palace at Urbino is more especially dwelt upon. In the twenty-second book the visit of the duke to Milan is described, and here the most eminent artists of the time, both native and foreign, are mentioned in a way which would lead us to suppose that he was familiar with the works of many among them otherwise than through report. The hearty praise accorded to his contemporaries by the Chronicler shows that Giovanni was not a man of jealous disposition.

Melozzo, who is "so dear" to him, and "who is so great a master of perspective," taught him that science which he understood so well, and which was the passion of the time. Certain it is that when Giovanni painted the large fresco in the Tiranni Chapel of S. Domenico at Cagli,[31] he had mastered the difficulties of linear perspective in no mean degree, for he correctly carried the lines of the real entablature into the design. Aerial perspective was, however, unknown to him, as its total absence of atmosphere shows. The varied attitudes of the sleeping soldiers in the Resurrection, which forms the subject of the upper portion of this fresco, prove that he had attained considerable skill in foreshortening. The Virgin below the lunette, who sits enthroned in a tabernacle with the child upon her knee, amid saints and angels, forms an effective point of repose in the somewhat mannered composition, which though not remarkable for expression is pleasing and well arranged. One of the angels, that to the left, is said to be a portrait of Raphael (Fig. 2) at the age of nine. This would fix the date of the work in 1492, several years later than is generally supposed, and make it one of the painter's last works.

It is not certain[32] that the angel is a portrait of the boy Raphael, but the face is characteristic, and it is reasonable to suppose that he served his father as a model both in this fresco and in one of the child Jesus sleeping in the Virgin's arms, which he painted on the wall in one of the rooms of his house. The Madonna may be a portrait of Raphael's mother, Magia Ciarla.

She was the daughter of a merchant of Urbino named Battista Ciarla, and a most amiable and excellent woman. Her eldest son, Raphael,[33]

[31] Cavalcaselle suggests that the frescos in this chapel were painted soon after 1481, the date of the death of Pietro Tiranni's wife, in whose honor it was built and endowed. (See Vol. II. p. 583.)

[32] Cavalcaselle (Vol. II. p. 585) says the only grounds for believing so are the youthfulness and grace of this angel.

[33] The other children were a son who died in 1485 while yet an infant, and a daughter who also died (1491) at a very tender age. The Elisabetta who outlived Raphael was the child of Giovanni's second wife, Bernardina.

was born on the 6th of April, 1483, at about nine o'clock in the evening.[34] As we know nothing about his early education, we are left to conjecture that, being the son of an artist, and endowed with every instinct of genius, he took to the pencil and the brush as soon as he was old enough to hold them, and that his father taught him what painters' apprentices always learned in an artist's studio, namely, how to grind and mix colors and how to apply them. That he was always more ready to watch his father at work than to study his lessons at school may be inferred, but we have no such direct statement to this effect as we have about so many other embryo artists of exceptional genius. As long as his mother lived his home was a happy one; but after her death, when he was seven years old,

FIG. 2.

[34] The 6th of April, 1520, the day of Raphael's death, was Good Friday, but Good Friday in 1483 fell on the 28th of March. Now, as Vasari in his *Life of Raphael* says, "he died on his birthday, which fell on Good Friday, aged 37," this passage, taken with Bembo's statement in the epitaph on Raphael's tomb, "vixit annos xxxviii integer integros," is seen to mean that he died on the same day of the month as that on which he was born, namely, April 6. (See Passavant, Tr. Fr^{e} Vol. I. p. 26, and Note 1, p. 184, by Woltmann, to Waagen's *Kleine Schriften.*)

it assumed a changed aspect under the control of a harsh step-mother, one Bernardina, whose heart was as hard as the gold cups and platters which her father, the goldsmith Pietro di Parto, hammered out in his workshop. Giovanni Santi died two years after his second marriage, leaving directions in his will that his brother, the priest Don Bartolomeo, should be Raphael's guardian and tutor, and that so long as Bernardina remained a widow she was to be allowed to live with him in the family mansion. As both were ill-tempered persons, this arrangement turned out most unhappily, and their quarrels at last ended in a lawsuit brought by the priest against his sister-in-law, with the hope of ejecting her from the premises. Raphael's life would have been altogether wretched had he not found a second father in his maternal uncle, Simone di Battista Ciarla, who watched over him with tender care during the six years which elapsed between his father's death and his removal to Perugia. During this time he probably placed him under the direction of some artist resident at Urbino, such as Timoteo Viti, who, having completed his studies under Francia at Bologna, returned home a year after the death of Giovanni Santi; or Luca Signorelli, who was at Urbino about the same time. This temporary arrangement gave him time to decide which among the eminent painters of the time should be intrusted with the task of developing the wonderful gifts of his nephew.

There were Andrea Mantegna, whom Raphael's father regarded as the greatest of artists, Francesco Francia, and Lionardo da Vinci, and many others whose praises he had sung in his *Rhymed Chronicle;* but Mantua, Bologna, Milan, and Florence were far-off cities, and the fond uncle preferred to look nearer home for the desired master. Fortunately for Raphael, this master was at last found in Pietro Vannucci, a native of Città della Pieve, though commonly called Perugino from his long residence at Perugia, who having been commissioned by the guild of the Cambio (the Exchange) at Perugia to decorate their audience-hall, had left Florence in 1499, after a residence of six or seven years, and established himself there with his scholars and assistants. Um-

brian in feeling, Florentine in scientific acquirements, and well acquainted with the various styles and discoveries of all the great artists of his day, Perugino, then about fifty years old, seemed in every respect the best of masters for the young Raphael, who became his pupil in the following year.[35] The fresco decorations of the Sala del Cambio, then in progress, belong to the period when he had reached the apogee of his fame and his success, and were, as we may say, the text-books of his great pupil. They are to Perugino what the frescos of the Stanze are to Raphael, or those of the Sistine Chapel to Michelangelo, with this difference, that their mythological and historical subjects were less well suited to the peculiar bent of his genius than those which Raphael and Michelangelo treated were to their special powers. Perugino had, however, no choice in the matter. The subjects which he was called upon to represent were selected by a professor of rhetoric named Matanzio, and submitted to him by the auditors. He was told to decorate the groined roof with representations of the seven planets and the signs of the zodiac, and to fill the wall spaces with personifications of Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance, seated in the clouds above twelve portrait-figures of classic personages eminent for these virtues.[36] The religious subjects assigned to him were God the Father with Prophets and Sibyls, the Nativity, and the Trans-

[35] That 1500 is probably the correct date appears on grounds clearly stated by A. Springer in his *Raphaelstudien* (Zeitschrift, 3tes Heft., 1873). As Perugino is known to have resided in Florence from 1493 to 1499, in which year he came to Perugia to paint the frescos of the Sala del Cambio, he cannot have received Raphael as his pupil until the next year. Further proof that this was the case is furnished by the fact that whereas on the 5th of June, 1499, Raphael appeared at Urbino as a witness in the suit brought by Don Bartolomeo against his step-mother, Bernardina, in the following year, May 13, 1500, Don Bartolomeo spoke of him in court as absent, "Raffaelle absente," and himself signed the paper drawn up by the notary "pro dicto Raphaele absente." Raphael must, then, have gone to Perugia between June, 1499, and May, 1500. Grimm (*Leben Raphaels*) adopts this date, for which Pungileoni, Passavant, and Robinson had given 1495.

[36] Prudence is typified by Fabius Maximus, Socrates, and Numa; Justice, by Camillus, Pittacus, and Trajan; Fortitude, by L. Socinius, Leonidas, and Horatius Cocles; Temperance, by Scipio, Pericles, and Cincinnatus.

figuration. The pilasters and flat spaces of the ceiling and walls were to be decorated with arabesques. Perugino painted all this work, with the exception of the ceiling, which he intrusted to Pinturicchio, Lo Spagna, Alfani, and Girolamo Genga, who also gave him such other assistance as pupils were accustomed to give to their master. Though always dignified, correct, and simple in his religious subjects, Perugino cannot be said, in those treated at the Cambio, to have attained that serene but deep feeling which marks his best works; while in dealing with the classical figures, though some are exceptionally noble and dignified, he was evidently ill at ease.

Ranged in a formal row, like a set of actors called before the curtain to receive the plaudits of an audience, these mediævalized heroes and lawgivers stand stiffly and timidly below the seated figures which personify their especial virtues. Pericles looks like a Jewish high-priest, Leonidas like a St. George, Cincinnatus like one of the Magi. But it will not do to be too critical about historic truth, which we nowadays consider of the first importance, as Perugino did not pretend to trouble himself about it. He was neither a scholar nor a poet. We have only to look at the portrait which he painted of himself in a medallion on one of the pilasters of this hall, at that in the Uffizi, or at that which Raphael introduced into the right-hand corner of the School of Athens, to see that he was a shrewd, sturdy, rather matter-of-fact personage (Plate II.). In all, the face is square and somewhat rugged in form, the eyebrows are heavy, the expression is intelligent but not at all poetical. They show but few of the qualities which belong to a great artist, and in some respects verify what we are told of him by Vasari, who, however, evidently wrote with a leaven of prejudice against Perugino, which should make us cautious about accepting his statement that the disciple of a school which made the painting of religious subjects its special occupation was an unbeliever. "Pietro," he says, "was an irreligious man, who could never be brought to believe in the immortality of the soul; on the contrary, with words as hard as his porphyritic brains, he obstinately refused to follow the

right path. His every hope was placed in the goods of fortune, and he was ready to make any evil contract for the sake of money." He may have been avaricious and keenly alive to his own interests, but he was quick to resent any show of suspicion as to his honesty: witness the answer which he gave to the Prior of the Ingesuati at Florence, who had accused him of abstracting the greater part of the ultramarine which he gave him to paint with, instead of using it in his work. "Here," he said, as he returned it, "take what is your own, and learn to trust honest men who never cheat those who trust them, though if they would they could easily deceive distrustful persons like yourself."

To gainsay these accusations made by a writer, who, as he was only twelve years old when Perugino died, must have got his information about him from others, we have no other evidence than that of such pictures as the Adoring Madonna at San Agostino at Perugia, the Crucifixion at S. Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi at Florence, the Pietà at the Pitti, or the Assumption at Lyons. The man who painted these works can hardly have been an infidel. They are the products of a quiet, calm, self-possessed spirit, troubled with no doubts, though in no sense ascetic or passionately mystical like that of Fra Angelico. They look like the work of a sincere and honest man who felt what he painted, and who was incapable of simulating religious feeling or feeling of any other sort. On the other hand, letters found in the archives at Mantua[37] do not present Perugino in the most favorable light. He appears in them as a person not to be relied on, greedy for commissions which he hurried over or laid aside if others of a more profitable nature offered, fond of money, and of a rather matter-of-fact nature. "He who pays him best for his day's work will be by him best served." He was mockingly called "el buon cristianaccio" and the "patriarch" by his contemporaries.

Despite all that has been said, we know of no one among the

[37] Published by Canon Brughirolli in the *Giornale di Erudizione artistica*, Vol. II., and quoted by Springer in the *Zeitschrift*, Sept. 18, 1874.

Umbrian artists of his day who is apparently so sincere as Perugino, or has such depth of expression. Neither Alunno nor Bonfigli, his reputed masters, nor Pinturicchio or l'Ingegno, his fellow-workers, could have painted a head so full of wistful, tender affection as that of the St. John in his Crucifixion, or one so full of sympathetic sorrow as that of the Magdalen in his Pietà. He did not always or even often attain such excellence. His temperament was phlegmatic, and his emotions were not easily stirred. The habitual coldness of his nature showed itself in the formal arrangement of his compositions, and the indolence of his genius betrayed itself in his habit of repeating the same subject with but little variation, for whenever occasion offered he undisguisedly recurred to a once adopted type. When required to repaint an episode he took out the old cartoon and applied it afresh, instructing his pupils, no doubt, to think meanwhile of the original at the Sala del Cambio or elsewhere. Not only did he repeat whole compositions of the same subject, but he used portions of the cartoons made for one picture in painting another subject.[38] He seriously injured his position at Florence by this practice of reproducing himself, and gradually lost his pupils, who left him to pursue their studies under more prolific masters. Poverty of inventive genius, or mental sluggishness, can alone explain such a practice. An artist may repeat himself unconsciously, and may appropriate the ideas of others without being accused of poverty of invention; but if he is constantly in the habit of plundering himself, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that he is a man of few ideas. Are we to suppose that the penuriousness of which Vasari accuses Perugino in regard to money-matters ran through his whole character and showed itself even when dealing with art? Was he miserly about his ideas as he was about his ducats? This can hardly be. Ideas are not like doubloons, which can be locked up by those who have them, and we may suppose that Perugino in his long life made use of all he had. An examination of his works, which, as we have said, are so full of repeti-

[38] As, for instance, the six angels in the Assumption at the Servi, painted in 1505–1506, are those of the Ascension painted for S. Pietro at Perugia in 1497–1498.

tions that it is hardly going too far to say that a tracing from almost any one out of four of his standing figures will generally be found to fit the other three, shows clearly that he had, so to speak, but very few notes in his voice, and yet his song is well worth listening to for its sweetness, its impressiveness, and its devotional tone.

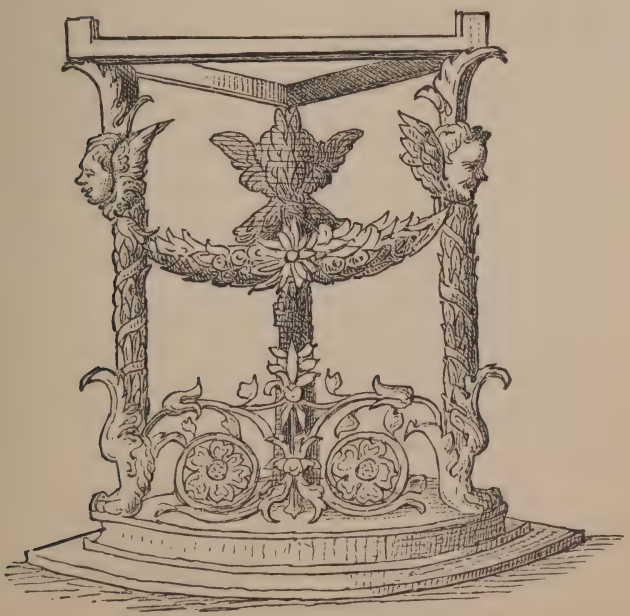
Though limited in its range of thought, and narrow in its scope, Perugino's spirit was progressive. He went on steadily improving until, in his later years, press of work and the habit of mechanical repetition made him somewhat negligent. He was a very careful draughtsman, an excellent colorist, though over-fond of strongly contrasted deep reds and greens; he understood anatomy and perspective, paid special attention to his backgrounds, both landscape and architectural, and was conscientious and diligent in the treatment of accessories. While perhaps no one but Giovanni Santi has ever regarded him as the equal of Lionardo da Vinci, none have ever denied him that high place among the artists of his day which he deserves, not only by reason of the intrinsic qualities of his works, but also because they form a preface to those of his great scholar, which flow from them so naturally that it is difficult to point out the moment when they begin to be individual.[39]

From the absolute correspondence of Raphael's early manner to his own, we may argue that Perugino was a strict disciplinarian, who required his pupils to copy his style to the letter. Did he take Raphael as an apprentice, or, in consideration of his already advanced knowledge and exceptional gifts, did he give him the position of an

[39] The following extract from Moody's lectures is here given, as calculated to show how Perugino, with all his sameness, managed to escape in some degree an almost inevitable monotony of effect: "The lines produced by the crossing of the limbs and those produced by the crossing of the draperies avail to counteract the inevitable parallelism of lines in a group of standing figures, a parallelism which is further concealed or counteracted by the great horizontal folds which so frequently envelop the waist in the figures of Perugino, — an artifice which Raphael was wise enough never to abandon." The thin silky hair which does not break the oval contour of the head, the graceful loops of the banded head-dress, the radiating and flowing lines of the drapery, the refined and gentle air of the figures, and their graceful pose, all combine to convey a saint-like and almost heavenly beauty.

assistant and pay him for his services as Ghirlandajo paid the young Michelangelo? This question, which naturally presents itself at the outset, is one which can only be answered according to probabilities, though we can have little doubt that the latter is the correct supposition. Raphael was in his seventeenth year when he entered Perugino's studio, and had long before learned all apprentice-work, besides acquiring great facility in drawing and painting. He doubtless, therefore, immediately took rank as an assistant, and was employed in such advanced work as the putting in of skies, draperies, and backgrounds, from which he soon passed to the painting of heads, hands, and even whole figures, after his master's cartoons. If this be so, the frescos of the Sala del Cambio, which were in progress on his arrival at Perugia, gain in interest and value; for who can say how much in them may not have been painted by the hand of Raphael?[40]

[40] See Woltmann on Waagen's *Kleine Schriften*, Note 1. p. 186; also Springer's *Raphael-studien*, Zeitschrift, Vol. VIII. pp. 67, 68.



CHAPTER II.

"Erfullst du was die Weisheit spricht,
Und gleicht dein Eifer deine Pflicht,
So wird der Ruhm ihm folgen müssen."— GELLERT, *Der Ruhm.*

AT the time when Raphael became the pupil of Perugino, Michelangelo was already looked upon as an artist of extraordinary ability both at Rome and Florence. With twice as many years then before him as those of Raphael's whole life, he had every advantage in the race, — the start, the earlier acquired strength, and that inborn self-reliance which leads to rapid development of power. To understand the artistic growth of Raphael without an intimate knowledge of his predecessors and contemporaries is impossible; but it is much less necessary for the comprehension of that of Michelangelo. Not that his art was uninfluenced by the past, or that he disdained the use of those appliances and discoveries which it had brought within his reach, but that from the first he stood on his own ground, and made use of all things in his own peculiar way. It is for this reason that, while we can trace the influences which shaped Raphael's development to their source, and follow those which led him on from style to style, we cannot do so with his great rival who, though revealing fresh phases of genius and unlooked-for capacities as he grew older, started almost on the level which he was to keep, and showed the hand of power —

CHAPTER II.

Michelangelo, 1475–1500.

Born March 6, 1475. Apprenticed to Domenico Ghirlandajo, April 1, 1488.

1. Marble mask of a Faun or Satyr, 1489–1490. Uffizi, Florence.
2. Battle of Hercules and the Centaurs, marble bas-relief, 1490–1492. Casa Buonarroti, Florence.
3. Madonna and Child. Marble bas-relief in Donatello's style, 1490–1492. Casa Buonarroti, Florence.
4. The Madonna and Child with angels, called the Taunton Madonna. A painting in tempera now in the National Gallery was perhaps painted at this time.
5. Marble statue of Hercules, 1492–1493. Sent to France. At Fontainebleau in the "Jardin de l'Etang" up to 1642. The garden was destroyed in 1713, and nothing is known as to the fate of the statue.
6. Wooden Crucifix sculptured for the Prior of Santo Spirito, 1494. Lost.
7. Marble Angel, 1494–1495. Altar of the Church of St. Domenick at Bologna.
8. Marble St. John, 1495. Doubtfully identified as that in the possession of Count Rosselmini Gualandi at Pisa.
9. A sleeping Cupid, 1495–1496. Perhaps the one in the Museum at Mantua.
10. A cartoon of St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, 1496. Formerly at San Pietro in Montorio, Rome. Not extant.
11. Marble Bacchus, 1496–1500. Uffizi.
12. Marble Cupid, 1496–1500. Identified with that at the South Kensington Museum.
13. The Pietà, 1499–1500. Chapel of St. Petronilla at St. Peter's.

which was by and by to paint the Adam of the Sistine Chapel and sculpture the Day at San Lorenzo — in the Taunton Madonna at the National Gallery and the Faun's Head at the Uffizi.

Considering that he looked upon "the rough stone" as including every possible shape,[1] and that sculpture was the art of his predilection, it is interesting to observe the many ways in which he was associated with it. The historical stronghold of the Counts of Canossa, from whom he supposed himself to be descended, was a mountain fortress;[2] his birthplace was a castle built on the summit of a rock; and his wet-nurse was the wife of a stone-mason, so that, as he humorously said, he imbibed his love for marble with his first nourishment.

Michelangelo was born on Sunday, March 6, 1475, at eight o'clock in the evening, in the castle of Chiusi e Caprese in Casentino,[3] a Tuscan

[1] "The best of artists hath no thought to show
Which the rough stone in its superfluous shell
Doth not include." — *Sonnet XV.*, Symonds's Translation.

[2] Situated in the territory of Modena near Reggio. It was the patrimony of the Countess Matilda, daughter of Boniface, Marquis of Tuscany, the great ecclesiastical heroine of the eleventh century. It was in the courtyard of this castle that Henry II., Emperor of Germany, did penance for four days and nights, bareheaded and barefooted, before he was pardoned by Pope Gregory VII. for rebellion against the Holy See. Despite his strong republican tendencies, Michelangelo was proud of his supposed descent from the Counts of Canossa, and was disposed to take offence when its reality was questioned. It, however, has no foundation in fact. (See Aurelio Gotti, *Vita di Michelangelo*, Vol. II. pp. 3–5.) The claim was based upon the tradition that Rolandino, Count of Canossa, settled at Florence in 1283, and that his son Simone was Michelangelo's ancestor. The Simone in question, who lived at Florence in 1284, is mentioned in a contemporary document as Simone Buonarrota. His family was of Fesulan origin, and his descendants called themselves Simoni. Thus before the sixteenth century Michelangelo's ancestors were distinguished as the Buonarroti Simoni. The Simoni were men of repute at Florence; one of them took a principal part as a Guelph in the battle of Montaperti, 1260; others filled civic posts of importance. A letter written to Michelangelo in 1520 by the Count Alessandro da Canossa, and signed your "bon parente" (see Gotti, op. cit., Vol. I. p. 4), shows that he was, nevertheless, recognized as a kinsman by the then living representative of the family.

[3] The ruins of the castle crown a height on the left bank of the Tiber. The hill belongs to the mountain chain which separates the source of the Tiber from that of the Arno. W. Davies gives a small woodcut of the ruins in his *Pilgrimage to the Sources of the*

stronghold on the upper waters of the Tiber, of which his father, Ludovico di Lionardo Buonarroti Simoni, was podesta. Returning to Florence when his year of office had expired, with his wife, Francesca di Neri di Miniato del Sera, Ludovico stopped at Settignano, where he had a villa,[4] to place their infant son in charge of the stone-cutter's wife. Thus almost the first objects upon which Michelangelo's eyes rested were the blocks of stone quarried by his foster-father, and the chisels and hammers which he used in his daily work. Does it seem altogether fanciful to suppose that such early associations with the implements of his special art may have fostered those plastic instincts which nature had implanted in him at his birth?

As soon as he grew old enough Michelangelo was sent to a school at Florence, kept by Francesco Venturini of Urbino,[5] whom Maffei supposes to have been afterwards the master of Raphael.[6] If this be so, their school discipline was the same, though that of their respective homes was as different as their dispositions. Raphael was blessed with a gentle and pliant temper, and was the child of an artist who fostered

Tiber, and describes their present condition. The room in which Michelangelo was born is still shown, and a commemorative tablet has been placed in it.

[4] A correspondent of the Academy (January 2, 1875) describes the Buonarroti villa as "a good-sized house, beautifully situated on the olive-clad slopes of the range of hills stretching east from Fiesole, commanding a noble view over the Val d'Arno and Florence. At the top of the stairway leading to the kitchen, there is a drawing on the wall of the upper portion of the figure of a Satyr, attributed by tradition to Michelangelo, as are two chimney-pieces, though these latter are said by the same writer to be of later date. C. H. Wilson (*Life and Works of Michelangelo*, p. 9) says the Satyr "is evidently by Michelangelo, but when his powers were matured." There are also some clever heads painted in fresco upon tiles by Giovanni da San Giovanni. The house is now inhabited by a lineal descendant of Michelangelo's old enemy, Baccio Bandinelli.

When Settignano became the home of the child Michelangelo, it acquired a second time distinction in the annals of art, for Desiderio (da Settignano), one of the most refined and charming sculptors of the Renaissance, was born there in 1428.

[5] Author of the first complete Latin grammar printed at Urbino in 1494 by Master Heinrich of Cologne.

[6] Passavant (*Life of Raphael*, French translation, p. 41) says that this supposition of the Marchese Maffei (author of the *Verona Illustrata*) is absolutely gratuitous.

in every way the development of his dawning powers; Michelangelo, on the contrary, was the self-willed and quick-tempered son of a man who looked upon the profession of an artist as derogatory, and who, so far from putting the pallet or the chisel into his hands, was determined that he should follow the silk and woollen trade like his brothers. But Nature would not be thwarted. She evidently intended him to be an artist, for the boy drew in school and out of school, patiently enduring the scoldings and beatings which were the consequence, until in good time he gained his point, and on the 1st of April, 1488, was apprenticed to Domenico Ghirlandajo, one of whose pupils, Francesco Granacci, had long supplied him with drawings from the studio of his master. Thanks to his proficiency, he at once took the advanced position of an assistant, at a progressive salary of six florins for the first year, eight for the second, and ten for the third. The discipline of a studio, and the direct supervision of such an artist as Ghirlandajo, were undoubtedly of great service to one who had so far been his own master; but Michelangelo's character was so independent, and there was so little affinity between his talent and that of Ghirlandajo, that he was not at all influenced by him as Raphael was by Perugino.

Domenico Bigordi, who inherited the surname of Ghirlandajo from his father,[7] was born at Florence in 1451. He was taught to paint by Alesso Baldovinetti, an artist who was noted for his extreme finish, as also for his love of laying on colors with experimental mediums, whose deleterious action has destroyed the greater part of his works. Ghirlandajo was of a more cautious nature, and painted in distemper, — a method about whose durability there could be no question, — with the same careful minuteness as his master. The rich landscape in his fine altar-piece of the Adoration of the Magi, formerly in the Sassetti Chapel at S^ta^ Trinita, and now in the Academy at Florence, is crowded with

[7] Tommaso Currado di Doffo Bigordi, jeweller and broker, called Ghirlandajo because his gold and silver head ornaments or garlands were greatly in favor with the Florentine women of his day.

elaborate detail, worked out with a patience and skill which reminds us of the Van Eycks. The hill to the right of the composition, with its trees and shrubs and grazing sheep, is a marvel of finish. The winding road is filled with a procession of men and horses following in the train of the Magi, who kneel tranquilly to the left in the foreground, not in royal garments richly decked with gems of price, but in the guise of good Florentine citizens, whom Ghirlandajo painted with all that realistic truth which entitles him to be called the Holbein of Florence. The picture is peculiarly interesting as a compendium of the best qualities of the Florentine school of the period. Love of detail shows itself everywhere; naturalism in the heads and hands of the Magi; and a classical spirit in the fine Corinthian columns which support the roof of the lowly cattle-shed, and in the richly sculptured antique sarcophagus in the foreground, with its festoons and elaborate Latin inscription. From one tendency of the time it is, however, happily exempt, namely, that tendency to exaggeration in movement which marks the works of the Pollajuoli, Luca Signorelli, and other noted painters. It rather suggests the influence of Lionardo da Vinci's school, which also originated in that of Masaccio. Lionardo himself or Lorenzo di Credi might have painted the Madonna with her sweet face, veiled head, and clasped hands, and the quaint little child who lies at her feet to receive the adoration which is his due.

The frescos of the Sassetti Chapel show the peculiar excellences of Ghirlandajo even more than the altar-piece, which was painted in 1485, and prove that, like so many other painters of Florence, he formed his dignified, noble, and severe style upon the great works of Masaccio, at the Carmine Chapel. Nothing in portraiture surpasses in truth the figures of Francesco Sassetti and his wife Nera, kneeling as donor and donatrix on either side of the altar; and yet heads by the score, of equal truth and character, may be found in his frescos at S^ta^ Trinita and S^ta^ Croce, — heads, purely and firmly drawn, of Florentine men and women whom the painter, after the manner of Masaccio, introduced as spectators of some central incident. In all Ghirlandajo's great compositions

the picture plane represents a stage upon which the actors are arranged as in a *tableau vivant*. They generally appear as lookers-on, who take little or no part in the action; but in the Death of St. Francis, perhaps the finest of his works, and in the Birth of the Virgin, at Santa Maria Novella, they play a more active part. The same love of truth, which made Ghirlandajo so admirable a painter of portraits, induced him to represent existing buildings and landscapes in his backgrounds. He was a realist in the higher sense of the term, who wanted the supreme grace of Filippino Lippi and the elegance of Botticelli, but who was never mannered like the Pollajuoli nor hard like Verocchio. Less scientific than Mantegna, less mystical than Angelico, and incapable of depicting the serene rapture which Perugino attained in his finest heads, he was an admirable draughtsman, skilled in perspective, and master of the laws of composition according to a somewhat formal code. He had, however, little feeling for color. Perugino was indeed no Venetian, but he always used color agreeably and sometimes with special charm, whereas the flesh-tones of Ghirlandajo are often disagreeable, and his association of hues is markedly inharmonious. In personal influence the two cannot be compared; for while the Florentine master had no pupils of note excepting Michelangelo, who owed him little in the formation of his style, Pietro Vanucci moulded Raphael, and counted among his scholars such eminent painters as Lo Spagna, L' Ingegno, Pinturicchio, Pietro Alfani, and Girolamo Genga.

That Ghirlandajo had so little effect upon Michelangelo, is partly to be accounted for by his having been sent to study the antique and modern treasures of art, which Lorenzo de' Medici had gathered together in the Gardens of St. Mark, within a year after he became his pupil, and by his having found in them the food which his spirit needed for its nourishment. Although his work under Ghirlandajo taught him many desirable and necessary technicalities, it cannot have greatly advanced him in the higher walks of art. It consisted in preparing colors, fresco-grounds, and panels for tempera painting; in copying his master's drawings; in counterfeiting those of other eminent artists, which he

did with wonderful fidelity, sometimes endeavoring to improve upon them, as when he painted a picture from Martin Schoen's engraving of St. Anthony tormented by devils, to whose scales he gave the bright hues of those of the fishes which he selected at the market.[8] It is impossible to suppose that the ardent spirit of one of the most original of men of genius can have satisfied itself with such imitative work as this. It must have tried its strength upon something more congenial, and though we have no such positive proof of creative effort as would be furnished by a dated picture, we feel inclined, when we look at the Taunton Madonna,[9] to believe with the best critics, that it was painted at this rather than at a later time, although if so it is the most wonderful of juvenile works in any art.

The same difficulty, of assigning a fixed date to this picture, meets us in all Michelangelo's undated works. While Raphael's three styles are as distinct and separate as the three sides of a triangle, the works of Michelangelo show no such marked division, but like the circle have apparently neither beginning nor end. He painted under Ghirlandajo, and yet, so far as we know, never imitated his manner; he studied the frescos of Masaccio and Filippino Lippi at the Carmine, and showed no special trace of their influence upon him; and although he probably painted the Taunton Madonna while studying the antique, it shows no signs of such study, but is as Michelangelesque as the unfinished group of the Madonna and Child in the Medici Chapel, with which it has such strong affinities. The central group of the Virgin holding the infant Saviour is conceived in the same grand spirit, and has enough of the *maniera terribile* about it to recall the Sibyls of the Sistine Chapel. There is, however, a sweetness coupled with strength

[8] The eminent French sculptor, M. de Triqueti, believed himself to be the possessor of this work.

[9] Bought at Rome for a small sum by an English artist, and vainly offered to the directors of the National Gallery, it was sold to Lord Taunton, then the Hon. Henry Labouchere. At the Manchester Exhibition in 1857 it attracted great attention. After Lord Taunton's death it became the property of the nation.

in the two groups of angels, which may well induce us to believe that the artist was young when he painted them. They are types of adolescence, scions of a vigorous race, with a freshness of youth about them which is in itself a great charm. They are also eminently plastic, showing, like all Michelangelo's works, that he was always and before all a sculptor.[10]

His opportunities for studying sculpture at the Academy opened by Lorenzo de' Medici in the Gardens of St. Mark were altogether exceptional, and Michelangelo seized them with avidity. Many of the antique and modern marbles, bronzes, paintings, gems, cameos, and other works of art there collected belonged to the Medici treasures amassed by Cosmo, "Pater Patriæ," and added to by his grandson Lorenzo (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3.

[10] While fully admitting the great beauties of this picture, Mr. C. H. Wilson (op. cit. p. 66) singularly enough speaks of it as inferior to the Angel on the altar of St. Domenick at Bologna. The only way in which works of such a totally dissimilar character could be compared would be relatively to the ideals of each in painting or sculpture. So judged, the palm must unhesitatingly be given to the picture as being in itself a most noble work of art, grandly composed, nobly felt, and thoroughly individual. The Angel, on the contrary, is pleasing, even charming; but it has so little individuality and so little power, that were it not known to be by Michelangelo it would never be recognized as such. We agree with Mr. Wilson in finding a similarity of style between the Taunton Madonna

Some of these are now at the Uffizi, but as no inventory of the Medici collections exists, it is impossible to identify them with any certainty.[11] This is greatly to be regretted, because they exercised an important influence upon Michelangelo and other artists of the later Renaissance, after having, at an earlier period, aided in the education of those of Cosmo's time, some of whose works were to take an honored place with the antiques from which they had learned so much. That Donatello's David and his St. John were among these, or that he was otherwise worthily represented at the Academy, cannot be doubted, since the director was his old scholar Bertoldo; and that Michelangelo studied his works is proved by a bas-relief of the Madonna and Child in the Casa Buonarroti, which is a creditable imitation of Donatello's style.

Fig. 4.

We are told that Michelangelo had never taken a chisel in his hand until he entered Lorenzo's Academy, and that the first use he made of it was to sculpture, after an antique model, the mask of a Faun or Satyr (Fig. 4), which, according to Vasari, gained him the friendship of Lorenzo de' Medici. At first he filled the open mouth with a full set of teeth; but when Lorenzo remarked that old people rarely kept all their teeth, the young sculptor, we are told, knocked

and certain works in Tuscan sculpture. The angels in the right-hand corner certainly do recall Luca della Robbia, though they have in them a prophetic seriousness of which he was incapable.

[11] See Appendix A.

out some of them with his hammer. The truth of this story is not, however, substantiated by the head itself, which is preserved at the Uffizi, as it shows a mouth with side teeth or tusks widely separated, leaving an imperfect cavity partially filled by the tongue, evidently so modelled to mark the antique distinction between the Satyr's mouth and that of man. It was by his diligence and his marked superiority to his fellow-pupils, and not by any such special act of deference to his opinion, that Michelangelo attracted the notice of Lorenzo, who took him to live with him at the Palazzo de' Medici, where he was treated with marked consideration and kindness by such men as Politian, Ficino, and Pico della Mirandula, and came in contact with many persons who were to play important parts in his after life. Among these were Bibbiena, the future Cardinal, Raphael's relative and chief protector at the Court of Leo X.; Count Bernardo Castiglione, of whom so much has been already said in the preceding chapter; and also Giovanni and Giulio de' Medici, the two sons of Lorenzo, who as Popes Leo X. and Clement VII. were to have great influence over his future career.[12]

The four years which Michelangelo spent at the Medici Palace were the halcyon years of his life, unclouded by care, full of hope and promise, and joyful through the consciousness of expanding powers. They were also the years which did more than any others towards the formation of his mind and character, in which he learnt to love poetry, philosophy, and religion. The two first were daily subjects of conversation between Lorenzo and his associates, and the last stirred the hearts of all who lived within the range of Savonarola's warning voice. Michelangelo was not one of those who strove to shut it out, for, as

[12] As Giovanni de' Medici was raised to the rank of Cardinal at the age of fourteen, on condition that he should not assume his rank until three years had elapsed, he entered the university at Pisa. His investiture took place in 1492 at Fiesole, and immediately after the ceremony he went to reside at Rome. Michelangelo can therefore have seen but little of him. Giulio, on the contrary, remained at Florence under the tutelage of Politian, who, being well disposed to Michelangelo, may have brought about some intimacy between him and his pupil.

he himself said in his later years, its sound still rang in his ears. It did not now work with full effect upon his preoccupied mind, while art held the first place in his thoughts and poetry the next. Philosophy was to be the mistress of his mature life, and religion was to sanctify its end. This succession of guiding influences shows itself plainly in his poems, which reflect, as in a mirror, the period when they were composed.[13] The Platonic and the more especially religious sonnets were written during the middle and latter part of his life, but many of the madrigals seem as plainly to belong to that youthful time

> "When blind Desire ran free,
> With bit and rein too loose to curb his flight."

Like Dante, who personified theology in Beatrice, and philosophy in the Lady of the Convito, Michelangelo often speaks allegorically when he appears to be addressing a living mistress; but as Dante was inspired by his love for a real Beatrice, so Michelangelo seems to have been moved to poetry by the magic power of some fair face.[14] Such lines as these from the third madrigal, —

> "What shall defend me from the grace,
> The winning beauties of thy face;
> What from the *living* splendor of thine eyes,
> Where Love embattled points his airy sorceries?"

or these from the thirty-ninth: —

> "Even when she slays me, my loved Fair
> Delights to act a double part:
> Her eyes speak passion, whilst her air
> And mien strike daggers through my heart";

or these from the twenty-fifth: —

[13] Guasti, whose admirable edition of Michelangelo's poems has happily superseded the garbled and revised version published by Michelangelo the younger in 1623, would have us believe that all were written after the poet was sixty years old; but this, as regards the madrigals, appears impossible.

[14] "La forza d' un bel volto al ciel mi sprona,
E vivo ascendo tra gli spirti eletti." — *Sonnet LXXXI.*

"How is it that I seem no longer mine?
Who of myself hath robbed me?"

can hardly have been addressed to an abstract object. They read like the outpourings of a lovesick poet, writing in all the fervor of youth, and not like the verses of a man of sixty, fanning the embers of long-spent fires. To whom they were addressed we cannot even conjecture, for no woman's name is coupled with that of Michelangelo by either of his biographers, save that of the noble Marchioness of Pescara, for whom his sentiments were of a very different nature. The story of his attachment to Luisa de' Medici, the youngest daughter of Lorenzo, has no foundation. Betrothed at a very early age to one of the sons of Pier Francesco de' Medici, she died unmarried (1494) at the age of seventeen. She was but twelve years old when Michelangelo came to live in her father's palace, and though it is possible that he may have made her the subject of his day-dreams, we have not the slightest grounds for believing that such was the case. Whoever Michelangelo loved, we may rest assured that he loved nobly and loftily. No artist bears a fairer reputation for high moral character. "I have often," says Condivi, "heard him speak about love; and others who have listened to him on this subject will bear me out in saying that the only love of which he spoke was that kind of love which is to be read of in Plato's works. For my part," he adds, "I do not know what Plato says, but one thing I, who have lived with him so long and so intimately, can assert, that I have never heard any but the purest words issue from his mouth." [15]

This reference to the great Greek philosopher brings us to our second point, that influence of Platonic philosophy upon Michelangelo's mind, which shows itself so plainly in his designation of ideal beauty as the true aim of art. It was certainly first brought to bear upon him while living at the Medici Palace, where he heard the most abstruse philosophic questions constantly and ably discussed; but he was then too young and too much absorbed by art — that Jacob's ladder, rising

[15] Condivi, *Vita di Michelangelo*, p. 54.

from earth to heaven, upon which the angels of his fancy were ever ascending and descending — to do more than receive an impression which was calculated to bear fruit in his later years. The tone of his Platonic sonnets, as compared with that of such madrigals as we have quoted, proves that they cannot have been written at the same period. These are poems of youth, while they are the utterances of a soul which has risen above the perishable, and loves that which is eternal.

> "Not thy clear face of beauty glorious;
> For he who harbors virtue still will choose
> To love what neither years nor death can blight."

The poet of the sonnets loves beauty, not for itself, but because

> "God hath not deigned to show himself elsewhere
> More clearly than in human forms sublime;
> Which, since they image him, compel my love."

The third great influence which shaped the character of Michelangelo was religion. While the guest of Lorenzo, he was wont from time to time to steal away from the lordly halls of a palace where wit and unbelief went hand in hand, to the Duomo, where a trembling and heart-stricken multitude sat at the feet of the prophet monk. As he listened to the reproaches addressed by Savonarola to Lorenzo de' Medici and other princes who like him had crushed the liberties of Italy and corrupted the hearts of Italians, that dormant patriotism was stirred within him which long afterwards gave proof of its vitality by a noble devotion to his country's cause; and as he heard the earnest appeals made by the preacher to seek for truth in the Bible only, the religious instincts of his nature were moved, until like Festus he was ready to cry aloud, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian." The time when the living Vittoria Colonna added her influence to that of the dead Savonarola was yet far distant. The seeds then sown in his heart did not quicken while other and more constant influences absorbed his time and his thoughts.

It was natural that, living in a palace frequented by ardent lovers

of Greek and Roman literature, and filled with treasures of ancient art, Michelangelo should have selected a classical subject for his first important work in marble. By the advice of Politian he took that of the battle between Hercules and the Centaurs, and made a bas-relief, which is still preserved in the Casa Buonarroti. It is filled with an intricate web of struggling forms, whose vigor and energy of expression are eminently characteristic, and though wanting in clearness, concentration, and repose, is boldly conceived and executed. As the work of a boy of eighteen it is a marvel. A critic who of all the works of Michelangelo knew it and the Taunton Madonna only, could write a chapter upon his genius without missing one of its distinguishing characteristics. Dealing with nothing but the human form, and seeking no plastic ideal through the Greek method of selection and rejection, he took Nature as he found her, with her qualities and defects, and combining them into a whole, leavened it with the sublime. It is the impress of this element upon all which he touched that reconciles us to the exaggerated attitudes, the excessive muscular development, and the strained and unnatural positions of the head and limbs of so many of the great master's sculptured figures. Take away the sublime, and you have the vapid style of his imitators, the husk without the kernel, the forced utterance of the ranter in lieu of the impassioned but natural speech of the true actor.

The bas-relief, and more especially the picture of which we have been speaking, illustrate what has already been pointed out as the most striking thing about Michelangelo's beginnings in art, that, stepping at once upon his own ground, he began as he was to go on, ignoring the trammels of the schools, paying no attention to architectural or landscape backgrounds, not busying himself with the realistic imitation of objects around him, and disdaining to make a show of his knowledge of perspective, although he understood it like an Uccello or a Mantegna, or a parade of finish, although when he saw fit he could give as smooth a surface to marble or canvas as any artist of his time. From the first he recognized the human form as the great object of

study, and strove to represent it in every possible and, we had almost said, impossible attitude. He shared with Winckelmann the Greek feeling that "the highest object of art for thinking men is man," and with this conviction, planting his midnight torch in the breast of a corpse, he pursued his investigations until he had mastered all the springs of action and could work them at will.

It was by such researches into the hidden mechanism of the human form (Fig. 5) that Michelangelo sought to alleviate his deep grief for the death of Lorenzo de' Medici (1492, April 8).[16] He was enabled to pursue these through the kindness of his friend the prior of S^to^ Spirito, who gave him a cell in the convent, where he could dissect dead bodies obtained from the neighboring hospital, and thus he lay the foundation of that wonderful knowledge in which he has had few equals.

FIG. 5.

The loss of his best friend and patron, that first great sorrow of Michelangelo's life, was all the more keenly felt because his shy, subjective nature led him to have little converse with men.[17] Lonely and

[16] In sculpture he was not altogether inactive at this time. He had a studio in his father's house, and there made a statue of Hercules, which was bought by Giambatista della Palla for Francis I. in 1529. Henry V. placed it in the garden park at Fontainebleau in 1594, where it remained until 1713, when the garden was destroyed. What became of it after this time is not known.

[17] Among the artists of his own age Granacci seems to have been his one friend. At the Gardens of St. Mark he soon quarrelled with his fellow-pupil, Torrigiano, and when they worked together at the Carmine he received a crushing blow in the face from this ill-tempered, second-rate sculptor and braggadocio which disfigured him for life.

With the older artists, the acknowledged masters of the time, he sympathized but little. He did not appreciate the works of Lorenzo di Credi, never had any friendly relations with

dispirited he went back to his father's house, and remained there until Piero de' Medici induced him to return to the Medici Palace, where he treated him as a hired servant, and employed him to build up a snow statue in his courtyard, fit emblem of the then unstable and crumbling fortunes of his house (January 20, 1494).[18] Michelangelo's sense of obligation to Lorenzo reconciled him at first to his position, but it was impossible for him to hold it long under such a representative of the family. The only way for him to shake himself free of Piero was to quit Florence, but to do so at this moment was no light matter for an honorable man, as it was to fly before a danger every loyal adherent of the family was called upon to share.

In August, 1494, the Alps were black with the gathering masses of the French army Charles VIII. was leading into Italy, at the invitation of Ludovico Sforza, with the avowed object of seizing upon the crown of Naples, which he claimed as the rightful heir of the house of Anjou. Florence stood in the invader's path, and as the liberals within her walls, with Savonarola at their head, looked to Charles to deliver them from the tyranny of the Medici, it was a foregone conclusion that Piero would be driven into exile. We may suppose that Michelangelo reconciled his conscience to the step he was about to take, by reasoning, that to wait for the catastrophe would be worse than to depart before it happened, since he would then be obliged to fly with the man whom he despised. This would set him

Lionardo da Vinci, who became his rival after he returned from Milan, and had a contempt for Pietro Perugino, whom he must have had frequent opportunities of knowing during their common residence at Florence.

[18] It is generally said that the snow statue was the only commission given by Piero to Michelangelo. This is not so, for in a letter to his father from Rome, dated August 19, 1497, Michelangelo refers to a commission for a statue for Piero, which he had never begun because promises made to him had not been kept. "Now," he says, "I have bought a piece of marble and am cutting out a figure for my own pleasure." This was perhaps the Cupid bought (with the Bacchus) by Jacopo Gallo, which became the property of the Duchess of Mantua and is now preserved in the Museum at Mantua. See Milanesi, *Lettere*, Vol. II. p. 4.

in a bad light before his fellow-citizens, a result he wished to avoid, as he fully sympathized with the popular party, to which, if he awaited the moment of its triumph, he would not be able to adhere openly, without appearing to be a traitor to the memory of his benefactor. Nothing, then, remained for him to do but to leave Florence while Piero still weakly held the reins of power. Having arrived at this conclusion, he went to Venice, where he remained only a few days, and thence, being out of funds, returned to Bologna. As Michelangelo's purse was not a long one, and his luggage was light, he doubtless accomplished much of his long journey on foot.

In the mean time political events had ripened. Piero de' Medici had quitted Florence in November, just in time to escape the French, and before Michelangelo reached Bologna had taken refuge there with his family and a few adherents, to the great dissatisfaction of the Bolognese. The city was so agitated, and the general condition of Italy so unsettled, that a law had been lately made by which any stranger entering or leaving the gates without having a seal of red wax upon his thumb-nail by which he could be recognized as such, had to pay a fine of fifty francs, or go to prison. Having neglected the required formality, and being unable to pay the fine, Michelangelo would have been imprisoned, had not a counterpart of the good Samaritan in the person of a magistrate, named Gian Francesco Aldovrandi, who happened to pass by at the very moment when he was about to be led away to prison, inquired his name and circumstances, ordered him to be set free, and offered him shelter in his house. It seems hardly probable that Aldovrandi's act of kindness was induced by anything which he had heard of Michelangelo, whose reputation was not great enough to have preceded him at Bologna; but rather that, being a cultivated man, fond of literature and the arts, and kindly disposed to all artists, he felt compassion for one whom he found in distress. The impulse was a noble one, and the yielding to it proved a mutual benefit; for while, on the one hand, Michelangelo gained a home and a friend, his host secured the society of a man of rare genius, who

could not only talk admirably upon many subjects, but who could read Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio aloud to him with the rare expression and deep appreciation of one who was himself a poet of a high order. While thus engaged, or when his mind was busy with the deep problems of art, philosophy, and religion, which were its habitual subjects of consideration, Michelangelo may have forgotten his past sorrows and future uncertainties; but there must have been many hours when they pressed heavily upon one accustomed to the society of highly cultivated and learned men, and hitherto surrounded with works of art calculated to stimulate his imagination and cultivate his taste. Although Bologna seemed to him a place of exile, he could not return to Florence until political matters had assumed a more definite shape. Work of an absorbing character would have been a boon meanwhile, could he have found it, but all that his friend could procure for him, and this probably not without much difficulty on account of the jealousy of the Bolognese sculptors, were commissions from the monks of St. Domenick to finish a statuette of St. Petronius, begun by Niccola da Bari in the fifteenth century, for the monumental altar of the titular saint,[19] and to sculpture a kneeling angel holding a candelabrum, for the altar table. The angel (Fig. 6), which still keeps its place in the church, is sweet and pleasing, but wanting in that strength and fire which marked Michelangelo's début at Florence, and were it the product of an unknown artist would hardly attract attention. Its heavy

Fig. 6.

[19] The base of this monumental altar is the Arca or sarcophagus sculptured by Niccola Pisano and his scholar, Fra Guglielmo Agnelli, in 1260, to receive the bones of St. Do-

draperies remind us of those of Giacomo della Quercia (1425–1433), whose bas-reliefs upon the doors of the basilica of St. Petronius Michelangelo undoubtedly studied. We have but to compare one of these — the Creation of Adam by Quercia, who has been called Michelangelo's precursor[20] — with the far mightier conception upon the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, to feel that, consciously or unconsciously, Michelangelo must have had it in his mind. The actual similarity of the two compositions would not, indeed, impress us so strongly as proving Quercia's influence, for both find their prototype in Ghiberti's rendering of the same subject, were it not for their analogous feeling and sentiment.

It cannot be said that the time spent by Michelangelo at Bologna was barren of results if it thus aided in his artistic development.[21] On his return to Florence, he found the city at peace under a comparatively stable republican government. Lorenzo and Giovanni, the sons of Pier Francesco de' Medici, had given their allegiance to the new order of things and adopted the title of "Popolani," and Michelangelo could at last call himself a republican without any appearance of ingratitude to their family. A complete transformation had taken place during his absence. Liberty had been regained without the shedding of a single drop of blood, and the beautiful city was now governed by equitable laws, framed with a recognition of individual rights and of the common dependence of all upon the Creator. The best

menick. Above it rises a lofty structure enriched with statuettes and garlands, the work of Niccola da Bari, and the front of the altar on which it rests is covered with delicately wrought bas-reliefs by Alfonso Lombardi, a Ferrarese sculptor of the sixteenth century. For a detailed description of the whole, see *Tuscan Sculptors*, Vol. I. Ch. I. p. 19.

[20] Giacomo della Quercia, or della Fonte, as he was called from the beautiful fountain which he sculptured for the Piazza del Duomo at Siena, was born at Quercia in 1374, and died at Siena in 1438.

[21] Vasari and Condivi both say that Michelangelo stayed at Bologna more than a year; but M. de Montaiglon, in his biography of Michelangelo (*Gazette des Beaux Arts*, January 1, 1876), shows that as he was one of the persons consulted about the construction of the great Council Hall in the Palace of the Signory at Florence, with which Cronaca was charged on the 15th of July, 1495, he must have returned home earlier than has been hitherto supposed.

citizens, under the guidance of Savonarola and the gonfaloniere Soderini, ruled the state, order and sobriety were everywhere visible, and the danger which threatened on all sides served but to bind men's hearts together, with a firm resolve to maintain the republic at all hazards against the Medici, whose partisans unceasingly labored to bring about their return to power. The popular party were slow to believe in the liberalism of those who had been in any way connected with the Medici, and looked with distrust upon men who, like Michelangelo, kept up friendly relations with the "Popolani," whose adhesion to the republic every one knew to be insincere. In his case these relations did not imply bad faith, for it was natural that Lorenzo de' Medici, who had inherited the literary and artistic tastes of his namesake "Il Magnifico," should be interested in an artist whose education had been begun under his fostering care, and that, when he showed it, his advances should be met with the warmth of a grateful spirit, which could not forget the past. We have, however, no reason to suppose that he or his brother Giuliano made any attempt to engage Michelangelo in their political intrigues. Lorenzo gave him employment,[22] and as the story goes, it was by his advice that he sent his latest work, a sleeping Cupid, to a Milanese dealer at Rome named Baldassare, with instructions to bury it in the ground until the marble surface had lost its freshness, and then sell it as an antique. This somewhat unworthy trick having been played upon the Cardinal di San Giorgio, who bought the statue for two hundred ducats and placed it in his palace on the Lungara, Baldassare endeavored to cheat Michelangelo into believing that the thirty ducats which he sent him was the whole sum which he had received for it. Not long after the cheat was discovered, and the statue was returned on the dealer's hands. The Cardinal sent an emissary to Florence, who iden-

[22] A St. John sculptured by Michelangelo for Lorenzo di Pier Francesco, and long supposed to be lost, has been lately recognized in a statue attributed to Donatello, belonging to Count Rossellmini Gualandi of Pisa. The wood-cut of it, given at p. 25 of Mr. Wilson's *Life and Works of Michelangelo*, does not incline us to put faith in the new hypothesis.

tified Michelangelo as the sculptor of the Cupid, and having assured himself that he had not been a party to the fraud, invited him to Rome in the name of his master.[23] Anxious to get his statue, or a fair price for it, Michelangelo left Florence for Rome, and arrived there on the 15th of June, 1496. In his first letter to Lorenzo de' Medici he states that he has been very kindly received at the palace, but that he has failed in his effort to get possession of the statue.[24] He also mentions that the Cardinal sent him to look at certain statues in his palace, and asked him if he felt able "to make something beautiful" for him. "To this," he adds, "I replied that I would do my best to satisfy his Eminence, and I have since bought a piece of marble for a figure the size of life, and intend to begin it immediately."[25]

In reading this letter we cannot but regret that it contains no record of the writer's first impressions of the Eternal City, though this could hardly have been expected from Michelangelo,[26] whose letters are generally filled with statements of his personal affairs, coupled with energetic and laconic records of annoyances and disappointments connected with works commenced or lately finished, and contain few accounts of persons or surroundings. His provoking taciturnity in regard to

[23] Gotti, Vol. I. p. 15.

[24] Baldassare declared that he would rather break it up than exchange it for the thirty ducats which he had paid him for it. Gotti (op. cit. Vol. I. p. 15) says that the Cupid afterwards came into the possession of Duke Valentino, who gave it to Isabella, Marchioness of Mantua. It may still be seen in the Museum at Mantua. See Gaye's *Carteggio*, Vol. II. pp. 53, 54.

[25] This letter to Lorenzo de' Medici is dated July 2, 1496. (See *Milanesi*, p. 375.) In it he speaks of his having bought a piece of marble for a statue ordered by the Cardinal, and in another letter to his father says that he is waiting to leave Rome till he is paid for it, "for in dealing with such great people 'bisogna andare adagio.'"

[26] The mention by Francesco di Sangallo of his going with Michelangelo to see the Laocoön, a few days after it had been discovered in the Baths of Titus, is an excellent instance of that artistic reticence which we have so much reason to regret. He contents himself with recording the fact of its discovery, and adds, "When seen, we returned to dinner." And yet this was one of the finest relics of antiquity, supposed to be the very group described by Pliny, and of a character which could not but excite the enthusiasm of Michelangelo and his companion.

places furnishes us with another illustration of the fact that descriptive writing is essentially modern. We have but to glance over the whole range of literature from ancient times up to the last century, when it came into vogue, to see that this is the case. What treasures the books of Pausanius would have been to us, had they been written in the spirit of a modern traveller; or the Italian letters of Milton, had they been prodigal of details like those of Goethe in the *Italienische Reise!*

Flattered by the Cardinal's reception, and sensible of the superior advantages of Rome as a residence for an artist, Michelangelo took a studio and remained there for four years,[27] during which time he produced two works of an extremely opposite character, one of which, the famous Pietà at St. Peter's, may be considered as an expression of the religious feelings which had been awakened in him by Savonarola, and the other, the Bacchus of the Uffizi, which he sculptured for Jacopo Gallo, may be taken as a typical representation of the life which surrounded him at Rome, then ruled by Alexander VI. Between the group and the statue there is that wide gap which separates the noble from the ignoble. The Bacchus represents a drunken youth with a wine-cup in one hand and a bunch of grapes in the other, from which a little satyr is stealthily regaling himself. It embodies the vulgar idea of the god of wine, who differs from the inspired Dionysos as the Venus Pandemos from the Venus Urania, and scantily atones for its want of ideality by skilful modelling and anatomic correctness. We can only excuse Michelangelo for selecting such a subject by supposing that he consulted the taste of his employer rather than his own. In the Pietà,[28] on the contrary, we may believe that he found a theme congenial to his mind.

He must have often wandered under the vast roof of the venerable basilica, so rich in associations with the purer ages of the Church, and

[27] Vasari (Vol. XII. p. 169) says that his first Roman work was a cartoon of St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, for the Cardinal di San Giorgio's barber, who was himself an artist.

[28] Sculptured for Jean de Groslaye de Villiers, Cardinal de St. Denis and Ambassador

so full of tombs of great and good men of past times, whose faith was a standing reproach to the scandalous unbelief of those in which his lot was cast. Impressed with the *religio loci*, and proud to think that a work from his hand was to be placed within the walls of this central edifice of Christendom, he determined to make his Pietà worthy of it, never dreaming that it was to be the first stone of the new temple which he was destined to raise upon the ruins of the old. Had he been told that it would stand in a new church planned by himself, and crowned with a dome which was to be the greatest monument to his memory, he would have looked sadly upon the venerable edifice whose last days were numbered.

The Pietà (see tail-piece) represents the mother of the Saviour of mankind gazing upon the mortal remains of him who is himself the spring of life, the fountain of faith in things unseen. To behold him lifeless whom she knew to be divine, was a source of wonder to one of her mortal nature; but supposing, as we may, that since the day when the angel spoke to her, she had walked in the light of knowledge, we may believe that her feelings were not of a nature to call forth strong signs of grief when at last she bent over the lifeless body in which his divine spirit had deigned to dwell. Her chief office in art at all periods is to show her divine son to the world. While he is yet a child he sits enthroned upon her arm, or stands erect upon her lap like a statue upon its pedestal; and when he has grown to manhood and has consummated the mighty sacrifice which he came on earth to make, she lays him reverently across her knees, and sits in calm dignity, that all may see the blessed corpse of him who died that they might live.

Here, more completely than in any other work of modern sculpture, art and Christianity are allied; here alone, among the plastic works of

of Charles VIII., between 1499 and 1500, who placed it in the chapel of the kings of France dedicated to St. Petronilla, at St. Peter's. The contract bears date August, 1498. It is given by Gotti in his second volume, op. cit. p. 33. The price agreed upon was four hundred and fifty ducats.

Michelangelo, do we find evidence of that religious spirit which he embodied in his sonnets. In his sublime frescos at the Sistine Chapel he is a historian of sacred things, who rises to the lofty height of the inspired Hebrew writers in his own peculiar language, but he is not, from the nature of the subjects with which he there dealt, what he is in his Pietà, — an exponent, through form, of the gospel spirit of absolute submission to the will of God, whose type is the prostrate figure of the dead Christ. In his sculptured Holy Families and Madonnas there is no show of Christian fervor; still less in his mannered and unmeaning statue of Christ at the Minerva; but little in his half-finished groups of the Deposition at Rome, Palestrina, and Florence; and in the bas-relief at the Albergo dei Poveri at Genoa. Considering how truly religious he was, it seems strange that such slight trace of it is to be found in that art which, as he loved it most, would, we should have supposed, have been that in which his deepest feelings would have found expression.

Raphael's mind was infinitely less religious than Michelangelo's, and yet, judged by his works, he was the more Christian artist of the two. He not only entered into the spirit of the Old Testament, when he dealt with subjects drawn from it, but also into that of the New, when it became the fountain of his inspiration. Where is faith in Christ more fervently expressed than in the St. Peter of the Miraculous Draught of Fishes? Where are humility and endurance more fully embodied than in the Christ of the Spasimo? Where is the Divinity so wonderfully incarnated as in the infant Saviour of the San Sisto? To parallel these and many others which we might cite among Raphael's works, we have but the Pietà among those of Michelangelo. Harmoniously composed, its lines combine admirably from every point of view. Nor is the inner harmony of parts with each other less remarkable than that which they bear to the whole. What the Greeks call παθος, that is, the unity of feeling which runs through the whole body of the dead Christ, is wonderfully rendered. The drooping head, the fallen arm, and the helpless hanging of the feet all tell of death,

— of death which has not yet stiffened the limbs or robbed them of their suppleness. Unlike his later works, there is here no turgid swelling of muscles, or exaggeration of form, but all is simple, true to nature, and nobly pathetic.

Sculptured in the very last years of the fifteenth century, the Pietà stands like a boundary-stone on the extreme limits of the quattrocento. Its devotional spirit marks its connection with the art of the past, as its anatomical precision and masterly treatment connect it with that of the future. With it the first period of Michelangelo's development ends. The curtain falls on Rome, and the scene opens with the new century at Florence, to which he returned, after an absence of four years, to begin a new phase of his life, to show a fresh development of his genius, and to engage with Lionardo da Vinci, who, after a nineteen years' residence at Milan, had just returned to the banks of the Arno, in a world-renowned contest under the eyes of the young Raphael, who in this same year had commenced that course of training at Perugia which laid the foundations of a fame second to that of neither.

CHAPTER III.

Raphael, 1500–1508.

	Title.	Date.	Owner.
1.	The Crucifixion	1502	Lord Dudley, London.
2.	Coronation of the Virgin	1502–1503	Vatican Gallery.
	Predella. Annunciation, Adoration, and Presentation		Vatican Gallery.
3.	The Staffa Madonna	1503–1504	St. Petersburgh.
4.	Virgin between SS. Jerome and Francis	1503?	Berlin Museum.
5.	The Marriage of the Virgin	1504	Brera, Milan.
6.	Fresco at San Severo	1505	Perugia.
7.	The Adoration of the Shepherds, Ancajani	1503–1504	Berlin.
8.	Madonna Ausidei	1505	Blenheim.
9.	Madonna of the Monastery of St. Anthony of Padua	1504–1505	National Gallery.
	Predella. 1. Garden of Olives		Burdett Coutts.
	Predella. 2. Bearing the Cross		Leigh Court near Bristol.
	Predella. 3. SS. Francis and Anthony of Padua		Dulwich Gallery.
	Predella. 4. Pietà		Mr. H. Dawson.
10.	Madonna of the Solly Collection?	1504–1505?	Berlin.
11.	Tobias and the Angel in Perugino's Triptych?	1504–1505	National Gallery.
12.	The Dream of the Knight	1505–1506	National Gallery.
13.	Christ in the Garden	1504–1505	Mr. Fuller Maitland, England.
14.	The Three Graces	1506?	Lord Dudley, London.
15.	The St. George	1506	National Gallery.
16.	Madonna di Terranuova	1505?	Berlin.
17.	Madonna del Gran Duca	1505	Pitti Palace.
18.	Madonna Alfani		Formerly at Perugia.
19.	Portraits of Angelo and Maddalena Doni	1506–1507	Pitti Palace.
20.	Madonna del Cardellino	1506–1507	Uffizi, Florence.
21.	Madonna Aldobrandini	1507	National Gallery.
22.	Madonna with the Pink	1507	Duke of Northumberland.
23.	The Belle Jardinière	1507–1508	Louvre.
24.	Madonna in the Garden	1506	Belvidere, Vienna.

25.	Madonna of the Casa Tempi	1506?	Munich.
26.	Madonna Taddeo Taddei	1506	
27.	Orleans Madonna	1505–1506	Duc d'Aumale, Paris.
28.	The Entombment	1507	Borghese Palace, Rome.
29.	Madonna Canigiani	1506	Munich.
30.	Madonna Colonna	1506–1507	Berlin.
31.	The Little Madonna of Lord Cowper	1506	Panshanger House, England.
32.	The Large Madonna of Lord Cowper (Niccolini)	1508	Panshanger House, England.
33.	Madonna del Baldacchino	1507–1508	Pitti Palace.
34.	Portrait of Raphael	1506	Gallery of the Uffizi.
35.	Holy Family with the Lamb	1505?	Madrid.
36.	St. Catherine of Alexandria	1506	National Gallery.

Michelangelo, 1500–1504.

1.	Holy Family. Oil Painting?	Before 1504	Tribune, Uffizi.
2.	Cartoon. Battle of Pisa	1504–1506	Not extant.
3.	Statue of David	1501–1504	Bargello, Florence.
4.	Bronze Statue of David	1503–1504	Not extant.
5.	Madonna and Child. Marble group	Date uncertain.	Notre Dame de Bruges.
6.	Holy Family. Bas-relief	1503–1504	Uffizi.
7.	Holy Family. Bas-relief	1503–1504	Royal Academy, London.
8.	St. Matthew	1503–1504	Accademia, Florence.

CHAPTER III.

"Art is only art when it adds mind to form." — ALLAN CUNNINGHAM.

STYLE, or rather a style, designates the general character of expression peculiar to an individual or a period, and comprises therefore all that makes special the form in which thought of any kind is cast. The characteristic peculiarities which mark the styles of Raphael and Michelangelo distinguish them from each other, and furnish points of comparison between them. Formed in all cases by natural tendencies and dominating influences, a style always expresses the character of the mind from which it emanated, and therefore may be excellent or the reverse. No work can, however, have style unless it is both original and elevated in its character. Noble style is in a work of art what high breeding is in an individual, — it is the *sangre azul* which permeates it and gives it dignity. Adrien Brauwer had a style, that is to say, he painted pictures which we know to be his when we see them, as his friends knew him to be Adrien Brauwer by his face and person; but his works are wanting in style, in other words, they are vulgar and ignoble. Great artists like Raphael and Michelangelo have styles of their own, and give style to their works, which are therefore both original and noble.

Raphael had three distinct styles, or manners, each one of which

corresponds to a period during which he was brought under influences of a totally different character from those which shaped the other two. His first or Peruginesque style (1500 to 1507) is stamped with the impress of Perugino; his second or Florentine (1506 to 1508) shows individual development under the influence of Lionardo da Vinci and Fra Bartolomeo; his third or Roman, though not unaffected by Michelangelo, is that in which his fully matured powers were nourished by constant study of nature and the antique, and his work was completely Raphaelesque.

The first of his three styles is the one whose limits it is most difficult to determine, and within which, when these are approximatively fixed, it is most difficult to ascertain the order in which the works belonging to it succeed each other. Vasari mentions certain pictures as painted by Raphael during his apprenticeship; but as he gives no dates, unless they can be fixed by collateral evidence, our only guide to the correct classification of these and other early works is their greater or less resemblance to Perugino. The shades of difference between master and pupil are at first mere gossamer films, so thinly spread between them that we almost doubt whether we are not self-deceived in finding a greater tenderness of feeling and a more positive grace of line in those works which we know to be by Raphael. Gradually, however, the shades become more and more pronounced, until we at last know that we are in the presence of a greater artist than Perugino, who is just enough under his master's influence to show who that master was. Could we see Raphael's first pictures hanging side by side with some of Perugino's works, we should be struck with the close resemblance between them, and feel the very gradual development of the pupil's individuality. The Coronation of the Virgin at the Vatican,[1] for instance, and more especially the Crucifixion in Lord Dudley's gallery,[2] are Peruginesque in composition, in type of

[1] Painted for Maddalena degli Oddi in 1502–1503. A drawing of the upper part of this picture exists in the Musée Wicar at Lille.

[2] Painted for the Cappolla Gavari in the Church of St. Domenick at Citta di Castello.

face, in the arrangement of drapery, and in the pose of the figures, nor can we see that the heads are a whit more spiritual in expression.

Perugino had left Perugia in 1502, when Raphael painted the Coronation of the Virgin, so that it may be looked upon as a wonderful evidence of the rapidity with which he had learned to paint like his master, who was then established with his beautiful wife, Clara Fancelli, and his assistants, at Florence, where, with short intermissions, he continued to reside for several years, keeping his studio there and writing "penctore in Firenza" after his name.[3] If Raphael followed him much earlier than is generally supposed, he did not remain with him, but went wherever work was to be done, as to Citta di Castello to paint the Crucifixion for the Church of St. Domenick, and another picture (now lost) for that of San Agostino; to Siena, in 1503, to assist Pinturicchio; and to Perugia to commence a fresco at San Severo which he never returned to finish.[4]

Passavant follows Pungileoni (*Elogio Storico*) in assigning 1500 as the date of this picture; but this, as well as the date 1495, which both give as the year in which Raphael entered Perugino's studio, is erroneous. Rumohr says the Crucifixion was painted in 1504, but this, as Grimm (op. cit. I. 58) remarks, is too late. 1504 is the date of the Sposalizio, whose superiority is too great to allow us to suppose that the Crucifixion was painted in the same year. Prince Canino bought the latter picture at the Fesch sale for 10,000 scudi, and sold it in 1847 to its present owner, Lord Dudley, who exhibited it at Manchester in 1857. Although the Crucifixion is allowed to have been painted after the Coronation of the Virgin, it is even more like Perugino. The drawing by Raphael of the Crucifixion in the Albertina Collection at Vienna shows, according to Springer (op. cit. p. 69), greater technical skill than that for the Coronation in the Musée Wicar at Lille.

[3] This is proved by the letters to Isabella, duchess of Mantua, about a picture to be painted for her by Perugino. See *Zeitschrift*, 2tes Heft., 1874.

[4] After Raphael's death, Perugino was called upon to complete the lower half of this work which he had left unfinished. This accounts for the affixed date, 1521. (Grimm, op. cit. p. 101, note 2.) Raphael painted his part of the fresco in 1505. Studies for the hands of St. John and the head of St. Placidius exist in the collection of Raphael drawings at Oxford, and upon the same sheet of paper there is a pen-and-ink sketch of a group by Lionardo da Vinci, one engraved by Edelinck from the famous cartoon of the Battle of the Standard, which that great artist executed in the summer of 1504. The persistently Umbrian character of Raphael's work at San Severo, when, as this sketch shows, the young artist was alive to the vigor and life of Lionardo's style, is curious as proving how slowly he shook off Perugino's yoke.

The comparison of these early works of Raphael with others in which, though still under his master's influence, he shows individuality of feeling, is interesting, as marking his progress. The Crucifixion, the Coronation of the Virgin, and the Adoration of the Shepherds at Berlin (if indeed this latter be the work of Raphael, and not, as seems probable, of his fellow-pupil, Lo Spagna), are all works of a school; but the Staffa Madonna, lately purchased from Count Connestabile at Perugia by the Grand Duchess of Russia, is the bud of a new fruit grafted on the parent stem, in which the germs of the many Madonnas which Raphael was to paint lie hidden; for, though in a less degree, it contains that combination of the motherly and the virginal element in woman, which is, perhaps, their distinguishing characteristic. In Perugino's hands the Madonna would have been less sweet, less tender, less human, less divine.

Besides this picture in which Raphael shows us something of himself, there are others, such as the Tobias and the Angel of the National Gallery, in which he has quickened and warmed the somewhat cold and monotonous conception of his master.[5]

Perugino's drawing at the British Museum proves that he designed the whole composition; but one can hardly fail to detect Raphael's work in the glance of trustful reliance with which the young Tobias looks up to the guardian angel from under the shelter of his broad wing, in the firm and yet gentle grasp with which the divine messenger takes hold of the young hand as it rises to meet his steadying touch, and in the sympathetic look with which he meets the upraised eye of the youth, whose attitude is one of absolute reliance and unquestioning obedience.

[5] That Raphael worked upon it is proved by his drawing at Oxford of the head of the young Tobias three times repeated, once evidently from nature. This head, which is eminently lovely, is probably the portrait of a favorite model at Florence, as it is to be met with in the works of Lorenzo di Credi and other Florentine painters of the time. Springer (*Raphaelstudien*) points out this fact as showing that Raphael worked under Perugino at Florence earlier than has generally been supposed.

There is, perhaps, no better way of illustrating the difference between the Florentine and the Umbrian schools than by comparing this lovely example of the placid and earnest spirit which animated the latter, with a picture of the same subject, in the same gallery, painted by Antonio Pollajuolo, one of the most renowned masters of the latter half of the fifteenth century. In it all is mannered and theatrical; the angel is affected even to her finger-tips; she hurries onward with her young protégé at a rapid pace, and yet seems to be thinking more about displaying her elegantly disposed draperies than about helping him on his journey. Now Pollajuolo was a consummate artist; he painted with all the firmness and delicacy of one who had been bred as a goldsmith, and had complete technical mastery over the many arts which he practised; but in common with other masters of his time he aimed at effect, was always self-conscious, and showed it in the figures which he modelled, engraved, or painted. Art in his hands was running into a mannerism, which was happily counteracted by the Umbrian spirit, and raised to an antique standard by Raphael. Like the turbid waters of the Rhone, which flow out of the Alpine valley and are poured forth at Geneva pure from stain, so the river of art passed through the Umbrian lake, and issued forth at Rome in a clear and pellucid current.

If it be interesting to trace the growing Raphael in the Staffa Madonna and the Tobias, it is even more so to mark his advance in the Sposalizio and the Knight's Dream. The Sposalizio, which he painted for the Franciscan monks at Citta di Castello (1504), should be compared with the picture of the same subject painted by Perugino for the Brotherhood of St. Joseph at Perugia (1500).[6] The general arrangement of the figures in the two pictures is identical, but that of Raphael has more grace of line, and shows far greater skill in grouping. In treating this new subject, Perugino, as was his wont, adapted a cartoon, which he had prepared for the fresco of Christ's Charge to Peter, to his present wants, putting the same Bramantesque temple in the back-

[6] Now at Caen.

ground, a number of small figures in the middle distance, and a formally arranged row in the foreground. Raphael, at his instance or that of the monks, his employers, followed this triple division, but he gave the temple a nobler and more imposing aspect; disposed the groups in the middle distance with greater variety and a truer feeling for balance and effect; and grouped the figures in the foreground with a certain happy accidence, which shows an intuitive knowledge of the true principles of composition not to be found in the formal picture of his master. While Perugino's High Priest is planted sturdily and stiffly upon his two feet, Raphael's turns his head a little to the left, towards which the whole upper part of his figure sways, and throws his weight upon his left foot. The group formed by the modest and graceful Virgin, the manly and dignified Joseph, and the noble High Priest, is one of surpassing charm, but it is perhaps in the figure of the disappointed young suitor breaking his bow across his bent knee, that the young Umbrian painter shows his exceptional genius. In the lovely allegory at the National Gallery called the Knight's Dream it reveals itself plainly. Apart from its real beauties, this picture has a special interest, as it typifies a moment in the young painter's life when he was called upon to choose between good and evil. Admitting the world to his confidence, he here reveals the secret struggles of his young heart, and tells us how pure that young heart was. The subject is that choice between a life of effort and a life of pleasure which every one is called upon to make when he passes from childhood into manhood. A young knight, sleeping at the foot of a laurel-tree, sees in his dreams two women standing beside him, the elder and graver of whom holds in one hand a drawn sword and in the other a book, and speaks to him of duty, honor, and effort as the price of fame. The other, who is more gayly dressed, and neither nun-like nor pensive like her sister, offers him a rose and smiles upon him, promising ease and pleasure if he will follow her guidance.

Like the two figures, the landscape background is symbolic. Behind Duty rises a steep, rocky path; behind Pleasure stretches a smiling

valley through which a river winds. In the young knight we recognize Raphael, who is about to choose between two roads, the one leading upwards over the steep rocks of toil and self-denial to fame and glory, the other down into the bright valley where pleasure dwells, which as here typified, and therefore to be taken as his idea of pleasure, is no Rubens-like Bacchante, but a modest maiden, who, while she offers a rose, seems to warn the young knight by her semi-serious expression that it will soon fade in his hands.

Whether Raphael had ever been at Florence when he painted this charming little picture, which like the Connestabile Madonna, the St. George, the Three Graces, and other pictures in his first or Perugineque style, is finished with a care befitting a work so full of meaning, is a point upon which critics differ.[7] If he followed his master to that centre of art life as early as 1502, could he have retained his Umbrian manner intact until 1504, the period generally assigned as that of his first visit?[8] It is possible that he kept up his connection

[7] The Dream of the Knight was brought to England in 1800 by Ottley, who bought it out of the Borghese gallery, and sold by Christie in 1801 for four hundred and seventy guineas. It was successively owned by Sir Thomas Laurence, Lady Sykes, and the Rev. Thomas Egerton, and in 1847 was purchased for the National Gallery at the price of £1,000. (M. Reiset, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, March 1, 1877.) The latest of the pictures of Raphael's Peruginesque period mentioned in this chapter cannot have been painted after 1504. In that year Raphael went to Urbino to assist at the ceremony which took place when Duke Guidobaldo was made papal gonfaloniere, and adopted Francesco Maria della Rovere, nephew of Julius II., as his heir. Passavant conjectures that he then painted for the duke the admirable little picture of Christ in the Garden, now owned by Mr. Fuller Maitland. From the convent of the Camaldoli at Urbino, where it remained up to the end of the sixteenth century, it passed into the hands of Prince Gabrielli of Gubbio, resident at Rome. In 1829 it was stolen from the prince's gallery by a servant, who sold it to a dealer with other objects of art for forty scudi. The theft was unknown until one day, as the prince walked through the room where the frame still hung, the wind blew aside the silk curtain hanging before it, and showed that it was empty. Steps were immediately taken for the recovery of the picture, and by the help of the police it was restored to its owner, who in 1844 sold it for four thousand scudi to Woodburn, a well-known London dealer. In 1849 it was sold at auction for £787 10*s.* to Mr. Maitland of Stanstead, Sussex.

[8] It is difficult to answer this question. Those who, like Burckhardt, find traces of Flor-

with Perugino as late as 1506. Meanwhile he had been working at Siena.

No one who has ever visited that picturesque city can have forgotten the fountain in the great square, from which Jacopo della Quercia took his surname of "della Fonte." A hundred years before he sheltered its sparkling waters under a sculptured parapet (1419), they had been brought to the Piazza, and an antique statue, said to be the work of Lysippus,[9] had been set up over them. In the civil commotions which subsequently disturbed their city the devout, who were ignorant of the dictum of St. Augustine that "a pagan statue when converted to Christian uses merits protection like a human convert," saw signs of the anger of Heaven against a people who, in lieu of the Madonna, had placed Fonte Gaja under the guardianship of a heathen goddess. "Remove it," said a member of the Council of Ten, "and our intestine troubles will come to an end; and that we may transfer them to our enemies, let us bury its broken fragments within the Florentine territory."[10] That the descendants of these same Sienese iconoclasts could, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, look complacently upon an antique marble group of the Three Graces (Fig. 7), which Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini had placed in his family chapel in the Cathedral, shows how great a change the Renaissance had wrought in Italy. The people had become so familiar with the sight of pagan decorations in and

entine influence in his early studies for the Predella of the Coronation of the Virgin will answer it in the affirmative, as will those who, like Springer, say that he was so completely under Perugino's influence in 1502, that the inclination to leave him even for such a master as Lionardo da Vinci could not have been awakened in him. Those, on the other hand, like Grimm, who find no sign of Florentine influence in the San Severo fresco, which was not painted until 1505, when he had certainly been at Florence, may well believe that it took a long time to wean him even in a degree from this Umbrian style.

[9] The names of the great Greek sculptors were at this time used as synonymes for perfection, and antique marbles found were attributed to Phidias, Praxiteles, or Lysippus without any knowledge of their styles, of which the archæologists of the fourteenth century had no idea.

[10] The descent of Henry VII., Emperor of Germany, into Italy furnishes a more natural explanation of the Sienese disturbances during the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

about Christian churches, that no one thought of being shocked at an act which in the days of Giotto would have been regarded as impious. The ceiling of the chapel, called the library of the Cathedral, was decorated with mythological subjects relating to Venus, Proserpine, and Antiope; and in accordance with the habit of a time which saw no incongruity in mixing Christian with pagan subjects, the walls were covered with frescos relating to the life of the Cardinal's ancestor, the renowned Æneas Sylvius (Pope Pius II.), by Pinturicchio, the assistant and lifelong scholar of Perugino. A highly finished little picture in Lord Dudley's gallery at London of three nude female figures grouped like those of the antique marble, but differing in proportion, expression, and sentiment, and a drawing of two of the Three Graces on a page of one of Raphael's sketch-books at Venice, prove that he visited Siena, and there is no doubt that while there he rendered very valuable aid to Pinturicchio in the

Fig. 7.

preparation of his cartoons.[11] The antique group was, perhaps, the first example of its kind which he had ever seen, and if so, it laid the foundation of that love for works of ancient art which was afterwards to contribute so powerfully to the formation of his third manner.[12] Its effect upon one hitherto exclusively occupied with religious art must have been to give new food for thought, to strengthen the longing to see other classic works, and to awaken a desire to come in contact with artists who had formed themselves upon the study of ancient masterpieces of art as well as of nature. Umbria no longer satisfied his requirements, the studio of Perugino was too narrow a field for his capacities, and this conviction brought him, within a year from the date of his Sienese visit, to the gates of Florence.

The letter of introduction which he brought from Joanna della Rovere,[13] Duchess of Sora, the sister of the Duke of Urbino, to Pietro

[11] Pinturicchio sent for Raphael, who, greatly flattered by such proof of esteem from one so much older than himself, came to Siena in 1503. Vasari (Vol. V. p. 263, Le Monnier ed.) says that Raphael designed the whole series. This is probably a very exaggerated statement, but there are figure drawings at the Uffizi, at Perugia, and at Chatsworth, as well as studies for draperies for two of the Siena frescos, — the Canonization of St. Catherine, and the Marriage of the Emperor Frederic III., — which prove that it is not altogether untrue. The fact that Pinturicchio introduced Raphael as one of the spectators into the fresco of the Canonization of St. Catherine substantiates the statement of his co-operation. He is represented in company with an older person, evidently Pinturicchio, who took this way of showing his gratitude for help rendered.

[12] This hypothesis falls to the ground if Castiglione be correct in saying that the palace of the Duke of Urbino contained many marble and bronze statues which Raphael would have had frequent opportunities of seeing during his boyhood. There are, however, three strong reasons for supposing that the author of the *Corteggiano* drew on his imagination for his facts in making this statement, the first of which is that among the treasures of the dukes of Urbino which were removed to Rome and are now in the Vatican there are no statues; the second, that none exist in the palace at Urbino at the present time; and the third, that no such influence as they would have been likely to exert upon the painters of the Umbrian school at a time when the minds of all men were absorbed in the study of the antique, is perceptible in their works.

[13] Gaye, Passavant, and Milanesi believe in the authenticity of this letter, but Grimm (*Das Leben Raphaels*, Vol. I. p. 83) doubts it, and postpones Raphael's arrival at Florence to the year 1506.

Soderini, its chief magistrate, spoke of him as a highly talented, discreet, and gentle youth, anxious to take advantage of the great opportunities for improvement open to him at Florence. There can be no doubt that it secured him a kind reception from Soderini, and as little that their first conversation turned upon the two artists and the three works of art, which were of the greatest interest to the new-comer. The two artists were Lionardo da Vinci and Michelangelo, and the three works of art were their cartoons for the proposed frescos in the great hall of the Palazzo Vecchio and the statue of David, which had been lately set up upon the platform in front of that time-honored building. While Raphael felt but little desire to approach Michelangelo, who disliked his master, had no sympathy with the tenets of the Umbrian school to which he belonged, and represented the very opposite of all that he had been taught to admire in art, we know that one of his strongest desires was to see Lionardo and study his works. He had not only been taught by his father to venerate him as the first of living artists,[14] but he had in all probability met him when, as Cæsar Borgia's military engineer, Lionardo went to Perugia while inspecting the fortresses of the Romagna. After ten years' absence at Milan in the service of Duke Ludovico Sforza, he had taken up his abode at Florence, and for the past eight months had been working upon his cartoon of the Battle of the Standard, in the hall of the Popes at S^ta^ Maria Novella. We cannot doubt Raphael's impatience to see this master-work, then far advanced, and we can imagine the delight and astonishment with which he recognized in it the result of a science such as he had never imagined, and a strength and energy of expression exceeding anything which he could have believed possible.[15]

[14] "Lionardo da Vinci e'l Perusino,
Pier della Pieve, che son divini pittori."
Cronaca Rimata di Giovanni Santi.

[15] This representation of a struggle, at the battle of Anghiari, between the Florentine and Pisan soldiers for the possession of a standard is chiefly known to us by Edelinck's engraving. M. Reiset says, "It is very probable that the Flemish drawing from which Mariette says Edelinck worked, was but a poor copy of our Rubens's drawing (now in the Louvre)

Descriptions of the cartoon leave no doubt that it was one of the most masterly works ever produced, and as it was the one example of the painter's manner of handling a subject which demanded the utmost vigor of treatment, its loss is even more to be regretted than that of the cartoon by Michelangelo, who has left the record of his utmost strength upon the walls of the Sistine Chapel.[16] As it was commenced in the very month of Raphael's arrival at Florence, and certainly not finished until the autumn of the following year,[17] he had no immediate opportunity of comparing the two cartoons; but we may well believe that when he did so he was puzzled how to award the palm. Each master had selected a theme calculated to display his peculiar powers. Lionardo, who was an accomplished horseman and thoroughly conversant with equine anatomy, had taken a moment of struggle in the midst of battle; while Michelangelo, knowing that his greatest strength lay in the treatment of the nude, had represented a number of soldiers suddenly summoned to the fight by the sound of the trumpet whilst bathing in the Arno. Some were in the act of climbing the steep bank of the river; others who had already gained it were endeavoring to clothe their dripping limbs.[18] Beyond them, either outlined upon the canvas or finished in black and white, were groups of men in every variety of attitude, standing, kneeling, lying, struggling. As no subject could have been more perfectly suited to the genius of the master, we

which successively belonged to Sir Thomas Lawrence and the king of the Netherlands." See *Le Département des Estampes*, par le Vicomte Henri Delaborde, p. 315.

[16] For several years the rival works hung side by side in the great hall of the Palazzo Vecchio, where that of Michelangelo was maliciously cut to pieces during a popular tumult in 1512. Vasari (Vol. X. p. 296) accuses Baccio Bandinelli of this dastardly act. There is, however, no proof of his guilt, and for reasons given in *Tuscan Sculptors*, Vol. II. p. 145, we are inclined to believe him innocent.

[17] Gotti (op. cit. p. 35) cites an order of August 30, 1505, to prove that the cartoon was then finished; but as Michelangelo, who began it in October, 1504, was at Rome and Carrara from early in 1505 until May, 1506, and then spent three months at Florence, it is possible that he did not finish it until then.

[18] See Chapter VII. for an account of the engraving of this episode by Marc Antonio Raimondi.

may well believe that he treated it most powerfully. That Raphael, like all the young artists of the time, studied this cartoon, we know by Marc Antonio's engraving from his drawing of one of its groups, but it had apparently no influence upon his Florentine works. We cannot wonder that he was so little affected by Michelangelo, if we remember that he arrived at Florence only a short time before Michelangelo was called to Rome by Pope Julius II., and that he was working in a circle of ideas and aspirations with which the sombre Florentine had no sympathy. The high finish, the tranquil perfection and deeply subjective expression of the Mona Lisa made him ready to kiss the hand which had painted that piece of mystic perfection; but the Holy Family of the Tribune[19] was too much wanting in religious feeling, and the David too devoid of grace to please one trained in Umbrian precepts. He must, however, have felt the one supreme merit of the statue, namely, its all-pervading life. This gives so wonderful a vitality to the eyes, that a cast of one of them hung on the wall of a studio is instantly recognizable. In this respect it corresponds to our ideas of Myron's art, but otherwise it has little affinity with the works of any ancient or modern sculptor. It must be judged from its own point of view, and with reference to the conditions under which it was made, out of a piece of marble which had been so much cut away by Agostino di Antonio di Duccio, an incompetent sculptor of the fifteenth century, that no one less confident in his own powers than Michelangelo would have consented to try his hand upon it. To other artists the long thin block lying in the Office of Works of the cathedral was meaningless; to him it suggested the form of a shepherd boy who, like one of the younglings of his flock, was at that awkward age when the limbs are not symmetrically developed. So he made a small wax model, still preserved

[19] Painted by Michelangelo for Angelo Doni, a wealthy Florentine, whose portrait by Raphael is one of the treasures of the Pitti gallery. Wilson (op. cit. p. 60) says it is undoubtedly an oil-painting, though it has hitherto been considered to be in tempera. Of all celebrated pictures it is the least satisfactory. The composition is strained and unnatural, the color cold and inharmonious, the heads ugly, and the introduction of a number of naked peasants in the middle distance inexplicable save on the ground of display.

in the Casa Buonarroti, and then, shutting himself out from curious eyes, rained sturdy blows upon the mutilated marble until it took the shape with which all who have been at Florence are so familiar.[20] Admiration of the feat performed combined with the real merit of the statue to rouse popular enthusiasm. The artists and connoisseurs who were called upon to say where it should be placed decided, probably by Michelangelo's own advice, to remove Donatello's bronze group of Judith and Holofernes from the terrace of the Palazzo Vecchio to the Loggia de' Lanzi in order to make room for it. In placing this image of one who had courageously saved a people whom he afterwards wisely governed, at the door of the palace of the Signory, the Florentines wished perpetually to remind the city magistrates of their duty to the people.[21]

Although the distance from the Duomo to the Palace, over which the David had to be conveyed, was only about a quarter of a mile, five days (14th to 18th of May) were consumed in the operation of moving it upon a ponderous machine dragged by forty men. Stones were thrown at it by riotous people, and the guards were attacked; but their animosity ceased after it reached its destination. In 1527 the arm was accidentally broken,[22] but from that time up to 1873, when it was removed to the Academy of Fine Arts, this tutelary genius of Florence kept its place unharmed, save by wind and weather, until it had become as much identified with the Square over which it presided as the Palazzo Vecchio and the Loggia de' Lanzi.[23]

[20] The David was begun in September, 1501, and was to have been completed in two years. It was not finished until January, 1504, and not set up until the 8th of June.

[21] That Michelangelo also had this in his mind is very plausibly suggested by M. de Montaiglon, op cit.

[22] During the tumults which agitated the city at this time a band of rioters attacked the palace. Some one, in order to repel them, threw a piece of furniture out of a window, which fell upon the arm of the David and broke it into three pieces. They were picked up by Francesco Salviati and Vasari, then young men, and taken to a place of safety. Duke Corsino I. had them restored.

[23] Michelangelo modelled another statue of David of life-size for Soderini. It was cast

The incomplete condition of many of the works which Michelangelo executed at Florence, before he bent his neck to the papal yoke, shows us both the impetuosity of his spirit and his unlimited belief in his own possibilities of work. Not recognizing limitations of time, strength, or material, he accepted more commissions than a dozen sculptors could have executed, and, working with a conviction that he could accomplish whatever his will led him to undertake, he commenced with the St. Matthew at the Academy that long series of unfinished works which stand like milestones along his path from the year 1500 until his death in 1567. When we look at these marbles, whose grandeur is that of such semi-defined shapes as are formed by clouds and vapors, and whose impressiveness, like that of the ancient oracles, is in some degree owing to their vagueness of meaning and consequently multiple possibilities of interpretation, we are tempted to believe that Michelangelo made use of the undefined with deliberate purpose, laying down his chisel after he had blocked out a figure, because he knew that every new stroke would diminish its effect. But even without attributing their unfinished state to press of other work, or to sudden weariness of one idea under the charm of a new inspiration, or to intention, it is evident in many cases, that he had committed irretrievable mistakes through the impetuosity of his attack upon the marble block, which left him no choice in the matter. Cut away until it could no longer hold his thought, he threw it aside like a manuscript, which through manifold corrections and erasures had become illegible.

"Disdaining the ordinary methods of the sculptor, he made no plaster model; nor did he fix the three points of length, width, and depth, according to the system of execution practised in his day, of which he took no heed. When his sketch was finished he placed it before him, side by side with the block of marble and the living model;

in bronze and presented by the Signory of Florence to Florimond de Robertet, treasurer to Louis XII., king of France. Having been sent to that country in 1508, it was set up at Robertet's Château de Bury. In 1650 it was removed to the Château de Villary, after which nothing is known of its fate.

he then sought the extreme points of his composition, and having found them, fixed his attention upon the marble which concealed his statue from him. Then, after tracing the principal outlines upon it in charcoal, he attacked the block with violence, dealing blow after blow so as to strike away the superfluous matter. The fragments flew in showers with the sound of hail driven by the wind; the point struck sparks from the stone; blow succeeded blow. . . . . It seemed as if the hot and rapid breathing of the artist infused the first breath of life into the hard material. As by degrees the marble grew in the likeness of his thought, his ardor increased, and his idea shone with a brighter light . . . . the marble seemed to feel the power of its master."[24] Often, alas! we may add, did Michelangelo, like Saturn, devour his own children, leaving them, like his group of the Deposition at the Palazzo Fevoli, but shapeless wrecks.

The above vivid description does not apply to his method of working at that earlier time when he sculptured the Pietà at Rome and the Madonna and Child in the church of Notre Dame at Bruges. These show that he at first proceeded with much greater caution. They are equal in finish, but of the two the first is so superior in composition, in treatment, in mastery over detail, and in correctness of proportion that we incline to believe it to be the later work. The constrained pose of the Madonna, the disproportionate length of her neck, and the shortness of her figure from the waist downwards betray a less practised eye and hand than that of the sculptor of the Pietà; but these defects are condoned by the fine arrangement of the drapery, which is thoroughly Michelangelesque, the modelling and finish of the hands, the sweet and virginal expression of the face, and the natural and pleasing attitude of the infant Saviour who leans against the Madonna's knee.[25]

[24] Dupré's discourse before the Florentine Academy in September last. *La Nazione*, September 17, 1875, quoted by M. Guillaume in his *Michel Ange Sculpteur*, *G. des B. Arts*, January 1, 1876.

[25] This group was given to the church of Notre Dame by a member of the Mouscron

The Madonna at Bruges may be compared with two unfinished circular bas-reliefs of the Holy Family, one of which, now at the Uffizi, was sculptured for Bartolomeo Pitti; the other, now in the Royal Academy, for Taddeo Taddei, one of the most generous patrons of art and literature at Florence. Excellent in composition, and remarkable for its combined strength and sweetness of feeling, the Taddei bas-relief is one of Michelangelo's most pleasing works. The Madonna is gracefully sympathetic, and at the same time grand in style. By her side the Madonna of the Tribune is hard and uninteresting, the Madonna at Bruges a little cold and wanting in feeling, the Madonna of the National Gallery grandiose but unmotherly, and the Madonna of the Pietà somewhat impassive. Michelangelo was called to Rome by Pope Julius II. while working upon the two bas-reliefs, the statues of the Apostles ordered for the Cathedral at Florence, and those of Saints for the Cardinal Piccolomini's family chapel at Siena.[26] He obeyed the summons without delay, leaving them all unfinished.

family, but not, as is generally supposed, by Peter Mouscron, who was born in 1514, died in 1571, and lies buried under the altar above which it is placed. A letter from Barducci, written from Rome in 1506 to Michelangelo, then at Carrara, about the shipment of one of his works, not specified, *via* Viareggio, to Flanders for the heirs of John and Alexander Mouscron, Gotti (op. cit. Vol. II. p. 51) proves that it was a group, and not a bronze bas-relief, which two Flemish merchants bought from Michelangelo, as stated both by Vasari and Condivi. That it was this marble group is evident, since Albert Dürer speaks of having seen it in the church in 1521. It is also spoken of as there, and as by Michelangelo, in a history of Belgium written in 1560.

[26] In June, 1501, Michelangelo signed a contract with the Cardinal, afterwards Pope Pius III., by which he engaged to make these fifteen statues, between four and five feet in height, within three years. A new contract was made on the death of the Pope in 1503, after a pontificate of twenty-seven days, under which the time was prolonged two years. Four were then finished, namely, those of Saints Peter, Paul, Pius, and Gregory, and with these the work ended, for in 1537 we find that the heirs of the Pope reclaimed one hundred scudi on money advanced over and above the value of work done. (Gotti, Vol. I. pp. 25, 26.) There are four small statues of Saints Francis, James, Pius, and Gregory, and a Madonna and Child in the Piccolomini Chapel in the Duomo at Siena. These represent the result of the Cardinal's commission, but we quite agree with the annotators of Vasari (*Prospetto Cronologico*, Vol. XII. p. 388) that they are second-rate works, and not in Michelangelo's style.

Before Raphael followed him to Rome, three years later, he had painted the pictures in his second or Florentine manner, which bear the same relation to those in his third or Roman style that Ghiberti's first Baptistery Gate does to his second, or Milton's Allegro and Penseroso to his Paradise Lost. Their chronological order, like that of the Umbrian pictures, is not certain, but internal evidence leads us to conjecture that the Peruginesque "Madonna di Terranuova" at Berlin,[27] and the fresco of the Last Supper at San Onofrio,[28] were painted before the Lionardesque portraits of Angelo and Madalena Doni at the Pitti,[29] and these before the Madonna "del Gran Duca" at the Pitti,[30] the "Cardellino" at the Uffizi, or the "Belle Jardinière" at the Louvre (Plate III.).[31] The first, called the Madonna of the Grand Duke because it was a special favorite with Ferdinand III., was the first of that long series of Madonnas in which Raphael expressed the tenderness, dignity, and purity of woman in the loveliest of forms. As the great English poet who so long dwelt at Casa Guidi described the creative action of the true artist, Raphael, "holding firmly by the natural, reached in them the ideal type beyond it"; and through the flower growing on the earth plucked the flower on the spiritual side,

> "Substantial, archetypal, all aglow
> With blossoming causes." [32]

[27] Catalogue No. 247. Waagen gives 1505 as the date of this picture. It was bought from the Neapolitan family of the dukes of Terranuova for thirty thousand scudi.

[28] This fresco is now generally attributed to Pinturicchio.

[29] Bought by the Grand Duke Leopold II., in 1826, from the Doni estate for 2,500 zecchini. Burckhardt (in the *Cicerone*, p. 908) says that the influence of Lionardo upon Raphael shows itself in these portraits, both in the comprehension of character and in that careful modelling which neglects no detail of form provided it be characteristic.

[30] This lovely picture was sold to a bookseller for twelve scudi by a poor widow who owned it at the end of the last century and knew nothing of its value. It was afterwards acquired by the Grand Duke Ferdinand III., and took its name from him.

[31] Painted for Messer Filippo Sergardi of Siena, who sold it to Francis I. It was designed about the same time as the Deposition of the Borghese Palace, that is, during the latter part of Raphael's residence at Florence.

[32] *Aurora Leigh*, Book VII. Raphael's attachment to Taddeo Taddei, for whom he

Owing to their common feeling and character, we can turn from one to the other of these charming creations, as from the "Cardellino" to the "Belle Jardinière," without any shock of transition, for we feel ourselves to be still in the same pure sphere.

To praise "Raphael's mild Madonna of the Bird" were as unnecessary as to praise a lily of the valley for its modest loveliness, or a rose for its odor and color. With no straining after the sublime in form or attitude, it represents a child standing between its mother's knees, to whom another little one offers a bird. The forms are human, and yet so different from those which move around us that we recognize them as beings of a superior order. In the Madonna, the infant Christ, and his playmate the little St. John, the beautiful is attained by the simplest means. A critic disposed to find a blemish even in a work so perfect might perhaps object that the group is too obviously geometric in form. He would compare it and other early works by Raphael with the "San Sisto" Madonna, and the Dispute of the Sacrament with the Heliodorus, in order to show the difference between compositions in which the geometrical figure formed by the bounding lines of the group, whether it be that of the triangle, as in this picture, or of a more complex character, as in the "Disputa," is so evident that we cannot help seeing it, instead of being obliged to seek for it, as in the "San Sisto" Madonna, and the Heliodorus, where the element of symmetry pervades the whole like a spiritual essence.

What we have said of the "Cardellino," both on this point and on its other characteristics, is equally true of the "Belle Jardinière" (Plate III.), with which it has the closest affinity. Here also the Madonna sits in the midst of a charming landscape which, though in itself important, is not obtrusive, like the landscape backgrounds of Flemish pictures, nor like those of Lionardo da Vinci, misty and undetermined in form, however incomparably harmonious and strictly subordinate. Raphael's landscape

painted this Madonna, shows itself in a letter of 1508 to his uncle, Simone Ciarla, in which he says, "Should he come to Urbino, I pray you to do him honor without stint; caress him for love of me, and thus make me the most obliged of men."

backgrounds serve the end of carrying off the delicate outlines of the figures into space, but do not disturb them. Valleys, mountains, and rivers are clearly defined, and so managed as to enrich space without cutting it up, and to give value to the bounding lines of the figures without interfering with them. The trees are trees of the spring-time just putting forth tender leaves, so small and delicate that while they enrich they do not hide the structure of the tree, whose every branch and twig is visible under a thin veil of strengthening green. It is in the hollows of the Campagna, by the banks of the small streams which flow down to meet the Arno or the Tiber, that we see trees like those in the early pictures of Raphael. Fresh and young and unsullied, with all the charm and promise of opening beauty, they are in perfect accord with the spirit of his Madonna groups, as is their tender, delicate, and sober system of coloring. This has neither the richness, splendor, nor depth of that of the Venetian painters, nor does it depend for its effect upon strongly contrasted hues of flat tint, such as were favored by the early painters of the school of Urbino, but it is low and subdued in tone, and therefore in perfect keeping with the quiet though deep sentiment of the subjects depicted.

Raphael's years at Florence seem crowded with work to an almost incredible degree. The lovely Orleans Madonna, the Little Madonna of Lord Cowper (Plate IV.), the Canigiani Madonna, the Virgin of the Palms in the Ellesmere gallery, the Virgin of the Baldacchino at the Pitti, and many others, belong to this period of his life,[33] as does the admi-

[33] 1. The so-called Orleans Madonna, painted for the Duke of Urbino, and owned by the brother of Louis XIV., passed into the gallery of the Orleans family, and when this was sold was bought by Mr. Hibbert for £ 500. After 1835 it was sold from the Aguado gallery to the banker M. Delessert for 24,000 francs, and in 1868, being once more brought to the hammer, was purchased by the Duke d' Aumale for 150,000 francs. 2. The Canigiani Madonna, which was painted about 1506 for Domenico Canigiani, and afterwards belonged to the Medici, passed to the Dusseldorf gallery, by the marriage of Anna Maria (daughter of Cosmo III.), to the Elector of the Palatinate, and thence to the Munich Pinacothek. 3. The Virgin of the Palms, probably painted for Taddeo Taddei, was bought at the sale of the Orleans gallery, by the Duke of Bridgewater, for £ 1,200, and is now the property of

rable Entombment in the Borghese gallery at Rome. "In composing this work," says Vasari, "Raphael pictured to himself the grief of near and tenderly attached relatives when committing to the tomb the body of some very dear person upon whom depended the prosperity, honor, and influence of a whole family."

It is clear to those who know the sad story of Madonna Atalanta Baglione, by whom Raphael was commissioned to paint this picture as an altar-piece for the Baglione Chapel, in the church of the Franciscans at Perugia, that Vasari believed her to have selected the subject of Christ's burial because it was specially in harmony with her own sorrows.

At the age of twenty, and within a year after her marriage, her husband, Grisone Baglione, was murdered by a follower of the Duke of Sassoferrato, leaving her a widow with an infant son, named Grisonetto, upon whom all her strong affections were thenceforward concentrated.

One of a family whose authority was established at Perugia *de facto* if not *de jure*, "beautiful as Ganymede," says Matarazzo, a contemporary chronicler, and happily married, at the age of seventeen, to Zenobia Sforza, of the Ducal house of Milan, Grisonetto's life was exceptionally prosperous, until, in an evil hour, he listened to a villain, who, in order to induce him to join a band of conspirators, then plotting the massacre of the Baglioni, falsely accused his wife Zenobia of an intrigue with Grisonetto's cousin, Gian Paolo Baglione. Moved by jealousy, he consented to become an actor in a tragedy whose horrors have few parallels in history.

On the night of July 14, in the year 1500, the houses of the Baglioni were entered by the assassins, and four of the intended victims were murdered in cold blood. Gian Paolo, who was to have been slain by Grisonetto, escaped as by a miracle, and, having mustered a band of

Lord Ellesmere. 4. The Virgin of the Baldacchino, painted for the Cappella Dei at Santo Spirito, was bought by Prince Ferdinand of Tuscany, in 1697, from the Bonvicini family at Pescia. Carried to France during the reign of Napoleon, it was sent to Brussels, and thence returned to the Pitti gallery in 1815.

adherents to his cause, returned within twenty-four hours to take dire vengeance upon his enemies. Meanwhile Grisonetto had in vain sought to obtain his mother's forgiveness. Horror-struck at his crime, Atalanta refused to admit him to her presence, and let him ride away to death with these tragic words upon his lips: "Inhuman mother, nevermore will I return. The hour is at hand when thou wouldst speak to thy unhappy son, and canst not."

Wandering through the city, the wretched youth crossed the path of the man whom he had sworn to murder, and in an instant the sword of Gian Paolo was at his throat, but it dropped, for he who held it was not base enough to stain his hand with the blood of a kinsman. Less scrupulous than their master, the soldiers struck Grisonetto down, but before he breathed his last his mother knelt beside him, and as she vainly strove to stanch his wounds, murmured in his dying ears: "O my son! thy miserable mother, as thou didst foretell, has come to speak to thee, and thou answerest her not." When he was dead, the soldiers, at whose hands she vainly sought death, raised the corpse, and placing it upon the very bier on which that of Astorre Baglione had lain but a few hours before, left it for many hours exposed to the public gaze "as a warning and a terror to the enemies of Gian Paolo, and as a sign of eternal justice."[34]

As but six years had elapsed since these events, when Madonna Atalanta commissioned Raphael to paint the Entombment, they were well known to him as to all, and it cannot be doubted that they influenced his work. He made no less than ten different drawings of the composition and a cartoon before he returned to Perugia to paint the picture. The cartoon is lost, but the drawings at Oxford, the British Museum, the Louvre, and in the Malcolm Collection,[35] show us by

[34] The details of this story are taken from the *Chronicle* of Perugia from 1492 to 1505, written by Francesco Matarazzo. See Vol. II. of the Baron A. von Reumont's *Beiträge zur Italienischen Geschichte*, and *Sketches in Italy and Greece*, by J. Addington Symonds, pp. 81–87, for a full account of the conspiracy.

[35] Nos. 169 and 170. Drawings in bistre, separate studies for the same group. 169 is

their successive changes and ameliorations that men of the greatest genius do not always reach their great conclusions by a sudden flash of inspiration.[36] In the finished picture the composition is greatly enriched by the addition of an admirable group of the Virgin fainting in the arms of her attendant women. The action of the figures in the principal group is also much more harmonious than in the drawing at the British Museum, because, as the head of the Magdalen is turned towards the Saviour, the outline of her figure contrasts happily with that of Nicodemus. In the drawing the bearers do not seem to feel the weight of the corpse, but in the picture it appears to tax their utmost strength, for the head of him who sustains the head and shoulders of Jesus upon his breast is thrown back, the muscles of his back, shoulders, and arms are swollen with the strain put upon them, as are those of his right leg, upon which the weight of his body is thrown while he lifts the left so that he may plant his foot firmly upon the lower step of the platform, and thus balance the action of the stalwart youth who carries the lower limbs of the Saviour's body. It would be difficult, even in the works of Raphael, to point out a group more symmetrical, more truthful in action, more harmoniously balanced, than this.

Throughout Raphael's career he was always alive to the importance of availing himself of every means which could enrich and perfect his compositions. If other artists had treated the same subject, he studied their work, and did he find in it elements congenial to his nature, he adopted them without fear of being called a plagiarist, because he

of the Virgin in a swoon upheld by three female disciples; 170, also of the fainting Virgin and one of the women who is sustaining her. The two full-length figures in this drawing are skeletons, whereas those of the previous one are draped. (See the *Malcolm Collection*, by J. C. Robinson, p. 72.) Both drawings are engraved in fac-simile in Woodburn's *Laurence Gallery*.

[36] To take an example from a sister art, we may mention a sheet of music-paper which we once saw in the house of the Chevalier Landsberg at Rome, upon which Beethoven had written down some fifty different renderings of the "idée mère," the "Haupt Idee," or germ-thought of the first movement of the C Minor Symphony.

felt able to give them a higher development than they had yet received. His St. Paul Preaching at Athens, which he borrowed from Filippino Lippi; the arabesques and stucco ornaments which he adapted from those in the Baths of Titus, are instances in point; but there is, perhaps, no single work which so strikingly illustrates his power of transmuting the ideas of others into his own fine gold as this picture which we have under consideration. The general resemblance of the composition to Andrea Mantegna's well-known engraving of the same subject might at first sight appear accidental, for all treatments of such a subject must coincide to some extent, like the living repetitions of such a scene; but we have studies by Raphael of Mantegna's Entombment which prove that he knew it, and there can be but little doubt that it suggested to him the group of women sustaining the fainting Virgin, which does not appear in his first designs. Any one, however, who compares the two, will see that Raphael made the episode his own by a treatment which differs as widely from that of Mantegna as the Roman school differs from the Paduan. The similarity of the attitude of Raphael's dead Christ to that of the Christ in Michelangelo's Pietà, which lies in the turn of the head and the droop of the right arm, is so slight that it may very well be set down as one of those accidental coincidences of conception in the treatment of an identical subject, which are often met with in the works of different artists.

Painted at Perugia in 1507, the Entombment remained for a hundred years over the altar in the Baglione Chapel, and then, to the great indignation of the Perugians, was sold by the Franciscan monks to the Borghese Pope, Paul V. The Tympanum representing God the Father with angels was left at Perugia, but the picture and the Predella were sent to Rome, where the first hangs in the Borghese gallery, the other in the Vatican.[37]

[37] The subjects of the Predella, painted *en grisaille*, are Faith, Hope, and Charity (see tail-piece), in medallions, each with its pair of attendant angels. They have been admirably engraved by Desnoyer. The *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, November 1, 1875, contains an

It seems in its proper place at Rome, for it may be regarded as a prelude to those great compositions at the Vatican which Raphael commenced within a year after he had finished it. "The Belle Jardinière" and the "Madonna del Baldacchino," which close the series of his Florentine pictures, are full of sweetness, repose, and dignity, but the Entombment shows a dramatic power which afterwards reached its climax in the Heliodorus.

engraving of the Faith by Huot and a woodcut of the Charity. Louis Gonze, the writer of the accompanying text, suggests that as the drawing of the Charity in the Albertina Collection at Vienna is very much in Raphael's third manner, the Predella may have been painted after he went to Rome (1508); but there is no reason to suppose this to have been the case.

CHAPTER IV.

"When Greek joined Greek, then came the tug of war." — NATHANIEL LEE.

URING the three years of Raphael's life at Florence, whose fruits we have described in the last chapter, Michelangelo had been working at Rome for the Pope who so powerfully influenced the destinies of both artists. Called thither on the strength of his already great reputation, to give shape to the somewhat vaguely imagined artistic schemes of Julius II., Michelangelo had been kindly received at the Vatican, and at once charged with a commission which was to involve him in embarrassments and anxieties so much out of proportion with the final result, that could he have estimated them he would assuredly have refused a work which he prosecuted in alternate hope and despair for nearly half a century. It is strange to reflect that while the mausoleum of Julius II., which was to have been the greatest of his works, has contributed but little to his glory, the frescos of the Sistine Chapel, which he feared to undertake, have done more than all else to make his name famous throughout the world.

Michelangelo's first interview with the Pope was a turning-point in his life, and we can have no doubt that he carried from it the impression that he had met his match in strength of will and energy of character. Julius was a man of war, who would not brook the slight-

CHAPTER IV.

Michelangelo, 1504-1512.

Two Prisoners designed for the monument of Julius II., 1505. Louvre, Paris.
Bronze Statue of Julius II., 1506-1508. Destroyed in 1511.
Ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, 1508-1512. Sistine Chapel.

est opposition to his wishes. When men stood in his way he set his foot on them, and when cities rebelled against him, he mounted his horse and rode in triumph over their ruined walls.[1] But one man in the world, so far as we know, ever dared to oppose him, and that was Michelangelo, but although infinitely his superior both morally and intellectually, he did so in vain. Sparks will fly when flint and steel are brought into sharp contact, and so when their views clashed fire ensued. Had they not mutually esteemed each other they would have soon separated; but as vindictiveness was not in the nature of either, their frequent quarrels were followed by reconciliations, brought about through such concessions and explanations as each could make without undue sacrifice of dignity. To Raphael, whose pliant and gentle nature provoked no opposition, Julius was kind and gentle; but when he met Michelangelo he bristled like the fretful porcupine, feeling that, though he might compel him to submit, he could not subdue him. Nevertheless, the truthfulness, sincerity, and honesty of his nature commanded the Pontiff's respect; his strength and high endowments won his admiration, and bred in him a savage kind of affection, which was never satisfied unless its object was in sight and apparently content to be so. Michelangelo, on the other hand, was naturally in sympathy with resolute natures like his own, and attached to the Pope, but a disturbing element of mistrust, which was sufficient to prevent his giving him a full measure of respect, lurked in his mind. He knew that Julius would not scruple to break his word if he thought it for his interest to do so. Had he not purchased his election to the papacy by promising Cæsar Borgia to make him gonfaloniere of the Church if he would lend him his powerful aid, and then, when it was given, and the prize secured, had he not broken his promise on the ground that pacts made with Satan are not obligatory, and can be broken without risk of damnation?

Julius was neither a libertine like Alexander VI., nor a spendthrift like Leo X. His sole aim was to increase the temporal power of the

[1] As at the siege of La Mirandula, A. D. 1506.

Church as centred in himself He took the name of Julius because it had been that of Cæsar, and loved war not as a means but as an end. The large sum of money which he left in the papal treasury at his death proved that, despite the ceaseless wars in which he was engaged during his reign, he had managed the affairs of the state with remarkable economy. His nature was neither artistic nor studious, yet he did so much for arts and letters that he stands to Leo X. in the same relation as the Albizzi to the Medici. Seeing the full-blown flower, we are apt to forget the hand which fostered and trained the plant, and give credit for its beauty where credit is not altogether due. Thus in our admiration for the golden age of Leo we forget that it owed much of its literary and artistic glory to Julius, who first patronized and protected Bembo, Sadoleto, Castiglione, Flaminio, Bramante, Ariosto, Michelangelo, Raphael, and others to whom it owed its lustre. It is true that the favor which he showed them was partly induced by the feeling that they would promote his fame as a sovereign, and there is no doubt that his disposition to play the part of a Mæcenas was encouraged by the example and advice of Leo himself, then Cardinal de' Medici, the intimate friend of his favorite nephew, Galeotto della Rovere, whose early death strengthened the bonds between them; but while we give these points due weight in determining the just position of Julius II. among great patrons of art and literature, we feel that to have given Michelangelo and Raphael the opportunity of developing their genius by the creation of those stupendous works which have immortalized their names, is in itself enough to entitle his name to grateful recollection; though we regret that he allowed the destruction of the venerable basilica of St. Peter to make room for Michelangelo's new church, and that of many mural paintings in the Vatican to provide place for Raphael's frescos.

During the first years of his reign, Julius II. had little time to think of anything else than war; but after the final expulsion of the French from Italy, and the conclusion of a treaty between Louis XII. and Ferdinand of Naples, — Cæsar Borgia and Piero de' Medici

being both dead, and the succession to the Duchy of Urbino secured to his nephew, Giuliano della Rovere, — he turned his attention for a few months to the arts of peace, and conceived the project of erecting a monument to himself which should surpass all other monuments in size and splendor. Michelangelo was commissioned to give substance to this great scheme, and could the design which he produced have been carried out in all its details, there can be no doubt that the result would have fully satisfied the ambition of its projector. As no part of the basilica of St. Peter was capable of receiving a marble structure covering eight hundred square feet, and consisting of three storeys, the lower one of which was thirteen feet in height, the question of site had first to be considered. The plan suggested and adopted was the completion of the new Tribune begun by Pope Nicholas V. (1447 – 1455), and this led to the destruction of the whole church, and its reconstruction on its present magnificent scale. The hand of the destroyer, once raised, was never stayed till every vestige of the venerable and precious shrine had been swept away. This act of vandalism was not even condoned by the carrying out of the scheme which had prompted it. Executed only in part by Michelangelo, the shrunken monument of Pope Julius stands at San Pietro in Vincula, and with the exception of one statue, responds in no sense either to the ambition of the Pontiff or the grand conception of the sculptor.

The descriptions of Vasari and Condivi, and a pen-and-ink sketch in the Casa Buonarroti at Florence, show us that it was to have been an immense quadrangular structure, thirty-six by twenty-seven feet at the base, raised upon a platform reached by steps. The lower storey was to have been decorated with niches, separated by terminal figures supporting a projecting cornice, and containing statues of prisoners naked and bound, symbolic either of the provinces added to the patrimony of the church by Julius, or of the arts and sciences rendered powerless by his death. Colossal statues of Moses, St. Paul, Rachel, and Leah were to have been placed above the cornice at the four corners of the flat surface of the monument, whose centre contained the papal

effigy watched over by the angels of Grief and Consolation. This effigy, according to Vasari's account, was to have rested upon the shoulders of two figures representing Heaven rejoicing and Earth grieving over the Pope's death.[2]

Of its forty statues, and its multiple bas-reliefs, cornices, and mouldings in marble and bronze, but few were even commenced, as we shall see when we come to speak of that later period of Michelangelo's life to which they belong.[3]

Within four months of his first interview with the Pope, Michelangelo started for Carrara, where he spent eight months in superintending the extraction of marbles, in blocking out certain figures intended for this monument, and in planning a colossal work like that proposed by Dinocrates[4] to Alexander the Great. One of the Carrara mountain-peaks was to be shaped into a gigantic figure, which could be seen far out at sea, but what it was to have represented we do not know. Anxious to return home, he abandoned the idea as soon as he was no longer needed at the quarries, and after spending a few days at Florence continued his journey to Rome, which he reached late in the month of November.[5]

His one desire was to begin the monument as soon as possible, and in order that he might do so the Pope gave him a house in the immediate neighborhood of the Vatican, — too near, as it proved, for a long continuance of their friendly relations. To find himself subject to a visit from Julius, whenever the whim seized him to cross the bridge which had been built between the Vatican and his studio, must have been intolerable to Michelangelo, who loved privacy and was unaccustomed to work under supervision. This we suspect was one of the causes of the catastrophe which the Pope might have foreseen, had he known the nature of the man with whom he had to

[2] Vasari, Vol. XII. p. 181. The body was to have been placed in a sarcophagus within an oval chamber constructed in the centre of the monument.

[3] See Chapter IX.

[4] This architect wished to fashion Mount Athos into a statue.

[5] Condivi, op. cit. p. 18.

deal. Michelangelo does not, however, allude to it in the letter which he wrote to Giuliano da Sangallo after he reached Florence, the following extract from which shows, among other things, that the Pope had begun to count the cost of those great blocks of marble lying in the square behind St. Peter's, "whose number seemed to the people sufficient for the building of a temple rather than a tomb."

"Talking at table with a jeweller and a master of the ceremonies, I heard that the Pope had said that he would not spend another bajocco upon big stones or little stones. Astonished at this, I determined before leaving Rome to ask for a part of the money needed for the continuation of my work. When I did so, his Holiness sent me word to come again on Monday, and so I did, and also on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. At last on Friday the door was shut in my face by an attendant who said that he knew me very well, but that he must obey orders. . . . . This, however, was not the only cause of my departure; there was also another reason, which I do not wish to mention."[6] This reason doubtless was, that Julius had changed his mind about the monument, and had proposed to Michelangelo to decorate the Sistine Chapel with frescos. Both Vasari and Condivi tell us that this was brought about by Bramante, with the desire to ruin Michelangelo and thus bring Raphael forward. They say that he told his Holiness that he would hasten his death by building his own monument,[7] and advised him to employ Michelangelo to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, hoping that he would fail in the attempt and thereby lose all favor at the Vatican. From these charges Bramante cannot be altogether exonerated, for it is evident that he had some hand in the matter from the testimony of Pietro Roselli, who, writing to Michelangelo, tells him that Bramante, being told by the Pope in his presence that Sangallo was to be sent to Florence to bring him back, replied, "It

[6] Letter CCCXLIII., Milanesi, op. cit. p. 377.

[7] Michelangelo undoubtedly alludes to the Pope's acceptance of this idea, and his subsequent change of plan, in the lines of a sonnet addressed to him, —

"Lo, thou hast lent thine ear to fables still,
Rewarding those who hate the name of truth."

will be of no use, for I have heard him say several times that he would not paint the chapel as the Pope had ordered him to do," adding, "In my opinion Michelangelo is afraid to try his hand at a work which is out of his line." "This," writes Roselli, "I denied, and told the Pope that I would stake my head that you had never said a word to Bramante on the subject." It is clear that, for some reason or other, Bramante placed himself in Michelangelo's way, prevented him from doing what he had set his heart upon, and turned his powers in a direction in which most men would have said they were likely to be wasted. If this was his object we cannot characterize his spirit as other than malignant; and yet we have reason to be grateful to him, for had he done otherwise, the world would have lost the sublime frescos of the Sistine Chapel ceiling, for which the monument to Julius would have been but a poor compensation. Whether Bramante's intrigues were prompted by jealousy, or, as we are told, by the desire to clear the way for Raphael, is a matter of consequence only so far as he is concerned; but it can hardly have been the latter, as he began them more than two years before Raphael came to Rome, when the fame of the young Umbrian was not great enough to give any one grounds for believing him capable of taking Michelangelo's place.

It was on a Saturday in the month of May, 1506, that Michelangelo, who had paid for the last shipment of marbles from Carrara out of his own pocket, took the road to Florence, angry at the ill-treatment which he had received, and fully determined henceforward to leave the Pope to shift for himself. Pursued and overtaken by a messenger who used every argument to induce him to return, he kept on his way, and it was perhaps well for him that Julius had other rebels to deal with, and plans for their reduction to turn over in his mind while his anger was at white heat, else the towers of Florence, like those of Perugia and Bologna, might have shaken with the sound of his cannon. His demands that the fugitive should be immediately sent back were so imperious, and his menaces so violent, that Soderini was really alarmed as to the consequences of delayed compliance. "You have

dared," he said to Michelangelo,[8] "to treat the Pope in a way the king of France would not have done, and as we are not inclined to risk our independence and go to war on your account, you had better make up your mind to obey." Answering one of the papal briefs on the subject, he writes, "Michelangelo the sculptor is so frightened[9] that, notwithstanding the promise of forgiveness conveyed to him in this brief, he will not return unless you send us a signed letter promising him security and immunity." That the gonfaloniere was frightened there is no doubt, but Michelangelo was not a man to be intimidated by threats, though, as Soderini wrote to his brother, the Cardinal of Volterra, "if you speak kindly to him and treat him affectionately, you can do anything you please with him." After three months spent in working upon his unfinished cartoon at Florence, he consented to go to Bologna "with a halter round his neck," to use his own words, "to ask pardon of the Pope," not because he was afraid to refuse, but because he did

[8] Gaye, *Carteggio*, Vol. II. p. 83.

[9] The sonnet, written as if from Rome about this time, certainly does not show much personal fear, and is so very plain-spoken about abuses at the Court of Rome, that if the Pope, to whom it is addressed, had seen it, it may be doubted whether he would have ever consented to pardon the writer. It is signed, "Your Michelangelo in Turkey," where our sculptor, having been invited by the Sultan to superintend the building of a bridge between Pera and Constantinople, seriously thought of taking refuge in case Soderini should turn him out of Florence. The following excellent translation is one of many from Michelangelo's sonnets made by J. Addington Symonds, published in the *Contemporary Review*.

"Here helms and swords are made of chalices:
The blood of Christ is sold so much the quart:
His cross and thorns are spears and shields; and short
Must be the time ere even his patience cease.
Nay, let him come no more to raise the fear
Of fraud and sacrilege beyond report;
For Rome still slays and sells him at the court,
Where paths are closed to virtue's fair increase.
Now were fit time for me to scrape a treasure,
Seeing that work and gain are gone; while he
Who wears the robe is my Medusa still.
Perchance in heaven poverty is a pleasure;
But of that better life what hope have we
When the blest banner leads to naught but ill."

not wish to bring trouble upon his friends and fellow-citizens; because he wished to return to Rome as soon as possible; and lastly, because his Holiness had sent him word by the Cardinal of Pavia, in a letter addressed to the Signory of Florence, that "he would receive him kindly and set him to work immediately."

As Perugia and Bologna had submitted to the Pope after his bold march from Rome, Michelangelo had every reason to hope that he should find him in a comparatively amiable frame of mind when, after an absence of fifteen years, he re-entered the gates of Bologna, at the latter end of November. He was recognized by one of the Pope's servants while attending mass at the cathedral of St. Petronius, and conducted to the palace where Julius had taken up his residence. After the irritation which showed itself in the first words addressed to him had spent itself upon a meddling Monsignore who proffered an unasked excuse for the culprit, the papal brow relaxed its frown, and the papal eyes once more looked kindly on the repentant fugitive, who was needed for the realization of a new project. This was to make a colossal bronze statue of the Pope, which, seated above the great door of St. Petronius,[10] would perpetually remind the Bolognese of their absent master. The clay model, which was immediately begun, was nearly finished before the 22d of February, when Julius, alarmed at the movements of Louis XII. of France, who was preparing to make a descent into Italy to reduce revolted Genoa to obedience, left Bologna for Rome. His last words to Michelangelo about the statue are characteristic of the man. Questioned as to whether the left hand of the figure should hold a book, the right being raised in a menacing attitude, he replied, "Rather a sword, for I am no reader."

[10] In a letter to his brother Buonarroti, Michelangelo thus records a visit of the Pope to his studio on the 29th of January: "On Friday evening at 21 o'clock Pope Julius came to the house where I am working and stayed about half an hour while I was at work; he then gave me his blessing and went away. He seemed pleased with what I am doing. For this it seems to me we have reason to thank God: so do I pray you, and pray for me." Letter L. Milanesi, *Lettere*, p. 65. In another letter, No. LI., to the same he records a second visit on the 1st of February, 1507.

At the end of April, when the figure was ready to be cast in bronze, Michelangelo seems suddenly to have remembered that, as he knew nothing of the processes of the font, he could not go on further without the assistance of a skilled workman. He accordingly wrote to Florence for Maestro Bernardino d'Antonio, a master of artillery in the service of the Florentine Republic, much renowned as a bronze-caster, who, after obtaining the necessary permission, joined him at Bologna towards the end of May. A month later an attempt was made to cast the figure, but, as he says in a letter to his brother, "either on account of the ignorance or misfortune of Bernardino it has failed. Half the bronze has stuck in the furnace, which must be taken to pieces in order to get it out. When this is done, all will go well I trust, but not without great annoyance, fatigue, and expense. So great was my faith in Bernardino, that I was ready to believe that he could have cast the statue without fire; not that I mean to say that he is not a skilful artist, or that he did not do his best. But those who work are liable to fail. And he has failed, not only to my injury but to his own, for he is blamed in such a fashion that he hardly dares to raise his eyes in Bologna."[11]

The second casting succeeded much better, but even this seems to have been less perfect than might have been hoped, as several months of hard work were afterwards spent in cleaning and polishing the surface of the statue. In November it was finished; but as the Pope had made Michelangelo promise to remain at Bologna until it was actually placed above the door of the basilica, he was obliged to restrain his impatience until the 21st of February, 1508, when the final ceremony took place with the accustomed rejoicings. Pipes, trumpets, drums, and bells made the day sonorous, and fêtes and fireworks made the night joyous. Four years later, when the Bentivogli came back to enjoy their own again, a furious rabble gathered in the square before the church, bent on the destruction of this effigy of a now detested taskmaster (December 30, 1511). Lowered to the pavement upon

[11] Letter LXIII., Milanesi, op. cit. p. 79. Dated July 6.

which, despite every precaution, it left the impress of its enormous weight, it was delivered over to the insults of the populace, and then broken into fragments which were given, in exchange for some pieces of artillery, to the Duke of Ferrara, who recast them in the shape of a huge cannon, fit symbol of so bellicose a pope as Julius II.

The many letters written by Michelangelo to his brother Buonarroti during his forced and prolonged stay at Bologna, are filled with expressions of discontent. "Like everything else here," he writes, "the wine is dear and bad, so that life is a burden, and it seems to me a thousand years before I can come to you"; and again, "I must stick to my work, else it will detain me another six months"; and again, "Know that I desire a speedy return even more than you desire it for me, for I live here in the greatest discomfort and undergo the most extreme fatigues, working day and night; you would be sorry for me if you knew how I am situated here." Writing to his younger brother Giovan Simone, he alludes in a half-joking way to the plague which had broken out at Bologna. "You tell me that you have heard from one of your friends, a physician, that the pest is a bad disease which kills. I am glad that you have heard this, for we have it here, and these Bolognese have not yet found out that it is a mortal sickness."[12] These letters, like many others addressed to his two brothers, his father, and his nephew, give us a strong impression of the warmth of Michelangelo's natural affections. They show him to have been a most dutiful son and a kind brother, who gave his money and thought, and what time he could spare from work, to help his relations. "I wish you to feel," he writes to his father, for whom he had a never-failing sense of reverence, "that my labors have always been as much for you as for myself; that which I have bought was bought to be yours as long as you live, for if you had not been living I should not have bought it." When his brother Giovan Simone had ill treated his father, he wrote to him in the most severe terms: "I have done my best for many years by kind words and deeds to make you live peaceably with

[12] Letter CXXIV., dated April 20, 1507.

your father and with us, and yet you go on from bad to worse. I will not call you a rascal, but you are so to such an extent that you no longer please me or any one else. . . . . To speak concisely, I tell you that all that you have I have given you, believing you to be my brother like the rest. Now I know surely that you are not, for if you were you would not have threatened my father; you are a brute, and deserve to be treated like a brute. . . . . If you will behave yourself decently, and reverence and honor your father, I will help you like the rest, and will soon establish you in a good trade. But if you continue to conduct yourself ill, you may expect me to come and teach you what you are better than you ever knew," etc.[13]

The postscript to this letter is as pathetic as it is energetic. "For twelve years," says the writer, "I have wandered about Italy, bearing all sorts of affronts, suffering every extremity, wearing out my body with overwork and exposing myself to every danger, and this only that I might help my relations; and now, just as I am beginning to set my house on its legs, you, with your escapades and bad deeds, are trying to destroy in an hour the work of years, and toils without number. By the body of Christ you shall not do it, for if need be I am able to thwart a thousand fellows like you. Be warned in time, and take care how you again rouse my anger."

The privations and labors to which Michelangelo alludes in this postscript are not in any wise exaggerated, nor is their object, namely, that he might assist his relations, incorrectly stated. His personal expenditure was always extremely restricted, so much so that his father, while advising economy, warns him against penurious habits.[14] His disposition was not miserly, but he allowed himself only what was strictly necessary, that he might indulge himself in the luxury of giving. He was not by nature inclined to self-indulgence of any sort. Work was his one idea, and recreation a word unknown in his vocabulary. In this as in every other respect he was unlike

[13] Letter CXXVII., July, 1508.

[14] See letter of December 19, 1500. Gotti, op. cit. Vol. I. p. 23.

the members of his family, who were all men of mediocre abilities. His father, Ludovico, being both weak and grasping, was constantly getting into difficulties out of which he was as constantly helped by his dutiful son both before and after the time when, by a legal act, he resigned all claim upon him for support.[15] The best of his brothers was Buonarroto, whom he established in business as a cloth merchant, and to whom he was much attached, despite his frequent ingratitude. Of Gian Simone we have already spoken, and of his bad and wasteful habits. Little is known of his eldest brother, Lionardo, who under the influence of Savonarola became a monk; or of Sigismund, the youngest of the family, who, after fighting under many banners, settled quietly at Settignano on the family domain. Of his mother, history tells us nothing save her name. We may therefore suppose that she was in no wise remarkable, and, as he alludes to her neither in his letters nor his sonnets, conclude that he had no special reverence for her memory. He inherited neither his genius, his character, his heart, nor his intellect from either parent, and in all respects he towers above his brothers in solitary grandeur, "as the cypress above the humble vines."

On his return to Florence from Bologna (March, 1508), Michelangelo took a year's lease of the house in the Borgo Pinti, which had been built for him by the Board of Works of the Cathedral, at the time when he accepted the commission for the statues of the Twelve Apostles, with the intention of completing these and other works which he had begun before he entered the papal service; but as the Pope insisted upon his return, not indeed to go on with his monument, which he would gladly have resumed, but to paint frescos in the Sistine Chapel,

[15] March 28, 1508, shortly after the return of Michelangelo to Florence from Bologna, his father emancipated him at the age of thirty-three, by a legal act drawn up by a notary (Gotti, op. cit. Vol. I. p. 70). In Italy and the South of France the son did not attain a legal majority until his father's death. His time and his gains belonged to the parent unless he voluntarily relinquished his right over them, in which case he could not claim from him a support in his old age. See Montaiglon, op. cit. p. 259.

which he had no inclination to undertake, he changed his plans, and taking the road to Rome arrived there before the end of June.

Raphael had either preceded him by a couple of months, or followed him almost immediately. We know by the date of a letter to his uncle Simone Ciarla that he was at Florence in April, and by that of his well-known epistle to Francesco Francia[16] that he was at Rome in September. Italy's two greatest artists were thus established in her ancient capital in the summer of 1508.

They met in the papal antechamber, or on the steps of the Vatican; the one walking solitary and alone, "like an executioner," the other surrounded by a troup of students and friends, "like a prince." Though seemingly unconscious of each other's presence, each recognized the other as a king among the artists of his time, and one at least probably regretted the antagonisms which kept them apart. Not only were their aims, their views, and their characters absolutely opposed, but the circumstances connected with Raphael's call to Rome were such as to prejudice Michelangelo strongly against him, and to render it impossible for even so amiable a person as Raphael to make any advances calculated to promote a more friendly feeling between them. In him Michelangelo saw the relative of Bramante, who had influenced the Pope to abandon a work to which he had hoped to dedicate his best years, and to force him to another for which, in the beginning

[16] This letter was accompanied with a drawing of the Nativity (which Francia had already seen and praised, "as," adds the writer, "you have praised other works of mine in a way to make me blush"), sent in lieu of Raphael's own portrait, which he had promised, but had not yet found time to paint for his friend. "Rather than have it painted by one of my scholars and retouched by myself," he writes, "I prefer to wait until I can find time to paint it entirely with my own hand." In conclusion, Raphael asks Francia to send him the drawing of his Judith, which will be one of his choicest possessions. With it Francia sent him a sonnet beginning thus:—

"O fortunate youth, while yet a child
So far advanced, what will thy powers be
When older grown and more in skill affirmed?
Nature, outdone by thy deceits,
Will loud proclaim thy worth,
Declaring thee the Prince of Painters."

at least, he had no mind. This was in itself enough to make him shrink from contact with one whom he was already inclined to shun as the scholar of Perugino, whose person and art were alike distasteful to him.[17] While then we can fully understand the motives of Michelangelo's dislike to Raphael, we are sure that he was incapable of the petty jealousy which so often blinds the eyes of little men to the talent of those who belong to their own profession. "To recognize their equal, even their better, when they meet him," says Swinburne,[18] "must be the greatest delight of great men." "All the gods," says a French essayist, "delight in worship. Is one lesser for the other's godhead? Divine things give divine thanks for companionship; the stars sang not one at once, but all together." Thus Michelangelo, though he said but little about the genius of Raphael, must have acknowledged it to himself, and have watched its growth and culmination with interest. As for Raphael, we know that so far from feeling jealous of his great contemporary, he "thanked God that he had been born in the same century with him." Outside causes for Michelangelo's antagonism to Raphael are easily to be found in the partisan spirit of his followers, to whose innuendoes and disparaging criticisms he did not always shut his ears, as a man of an equally noble but of a less morose disposition would have done. Living much by himself, and shunning the contact of all who did not actually thrust themselves upon him, he believed many things which Sebastiano del Piombo and Lionardo di Compagno said against Raphael, and took no pains to verify the truth of their statements.

When they first met at Rome, he was completely absorbed by the

[17] Vasari (Vol. VI. p. 46) relates that Michelangelo told Perugino publicly that he was *goffo nell' arte*, for which insult the enraged Umbrian cited him before a magistrate. In note 2 to this passage, the editor justly remarks that as Michelangelo was angry at the time his opinion is of no value, and adds that he who does not appreciate Perugino cannot appreciate Raphael. He cites the pithy remark of an English critic on seeing the two pictures by Perugino and Raphael at S. Giovanni in Monte at Bologna: "Io vedo nel quadro di Pietro, Raffaelle che ha da venire, e nel quadro di Raffaelle, Pietro ch'é stato."

[18] *William Blake, A Critical Essay*, p. 100.

many perplexities and anxieties growing out of his new task; and, save when his papal tormentor shook him rudely by the shoulder and forced him to raise his eyes in sorrow or in wrath, he moved in a world of his own, peopled only with the gigantic shadows whose images he was about to represent upon the roof of the Sistine Chapel. On his return to Rome he had urged to wilfully deaf ears that he was no painter, that sculpture was his art, and that he wished to go on with the Julius monument, until wearied with combating a will even stronger than his own, he accepted the work, and bravely commenced it before the close of the year 1508, which was indeed what the Germans would call a "wonder year" at Rome. With Michelangelo at work in the Sistine Chapel, and Raphael in the Stanze of the Vatican, the Pope's ambition to be regarded as the pivot of artistic activity must have been fully satisfied. Maximilian had his Albert Dürer, and Ludovico Sforza his Lionardo da Vinci, but since the days when Lysippus the sculptor and Apelles the painter served Alexander the Great, no sovereign had kept the two greatest artists of his time simultaneously employed.

After he had unwillingly accepted the task of decorating the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, Michelangelo did not immediately begin to work upon so grand a scale as that which he afterwards adopted. Like a ship putting to sea against head-winds, forced to tack from side to side, he seemed uncertain what course to take. He first proposed to paint figures of the Twelve Apostles in the lunettes, and to fill the rest of the space with ornamental work; and then, dissatisfied, told the Pope that this would lead to a poor result, and would not be content until he was told to do what he liked. The scaffold which Bramante, as papal architect, had been ordered to prepare, did not suit him,[19] and again he complained, and again was allowed to have his way.

[19] Bramante's scaffold was suspended from the roof, into which holes had been bored, and Michelangelo shrewdly asked how was he to fill them up. The scaffold which he designed and used was like the deck of a ship, and upon it stood portable scaffolds of different altitudes, which enabled him to reach the unequal surface of the vault. The

Then he doubted his capacity to paint in fresco,[20] and sent to Florence for skilled men to paint under his direction. Among them came his old friend Francesco Granacci,[21] whom he welcomed at first, but being soon vexed and disappointed with the slowness and dulness of his work, as well as that of his associates, he destroyed what they had done, and single-handed grappled with the difficulties of his herculean task. It is not, however, to be supposed that he performed the manual as well as the artistic labor connected with it, or that he refused to keep a workman to prepare his colors, as stated by Vasari. With the Pope ever grumbling at his back because he did not get on fast enough to satisfy his impatient spirit, we may be sure that Michelangelo wasted no time in unnecessary work. There was more than enough of a kind which he alone could do to occupy him unceasingly, not only for twenty months, as Vasari would have us believe, but for four years,[22] during which he worked in the chapel or for it, when not

dimensions given by Mr. Wilson as those of the great scaffold are one hundred and thirty feet long and forty-five feet wide. It stood fifty feet above the pavement. The 10th of May is given by Michelangelo as the day on which he began to work, but this expression undoubtedly refers to the preparation of designs, working drawings, etc., and not to the actual commencement of painting in fresco. See Wilson, op. cit. p. 121.

[20] Mr. Heath Wilson (op. cit. p. 11) points out that, as Ghirlandajo was occupied in painting the frescos of the choir of S^ta^ Maria Novella when Michelangelo entered his studio in 1488, he must have assisted in the process of fresco-painting like other pupils, and may have "been employed in painting decorative portions of the frescos, which was also the duty and work of assistants." The drawing which he made of the scaffold with the artists at work upon it "strengthens the supposition that nothing was lost upon so acute and careful an observer."

[21] Granacci left Rome for Florence before May 24th to engage assistants, and Michelangelo followed him in August to make a final arrangement with them, returning almost immediately. At the end of the month they followed him, and work was begun early in September.

[22] The papal chamberlain, Monsignor Paolo de' Grassi, states that the chapel was not open to the public in March, 1513, when Julius II. died. When the ceiling was half completed the scaffold was removed that the Pope might judge of the effect, and the doors were thrown open on All Saints Day, 1509. It was then again put up, and, if the chamberlain be correct, not removed until 1513, though it is generally supposed that the frescos

compelled by physical and mental exhaustion to take rest in a change of occupation. He spent month after month shut up in a gloomy and solitary space between the ceiling of the chapel and the top of the scaffold erected to reach it, now painting, now poring over the writings of the Prophets and the sermons of Savonarola, living, says Michelet, "like Elias in the cave of Carmel."

Day after day he sat with his head thrown back and his eyes turned upwards, or lay on a couch placed on a movable scaffold, until his eyesight was so much affected that for months afterwards he could neither read letters nor look at drawings without holding them above his head. In a sonnet to his friend Giovanni da Pistoja, he thus graphically describes the troubles and inconveniences incident to his position:—

"I've grown a goitre by dwelling in this den,
As cats from stagnant streams in Lombardy,
Or in what other land they hap to be,
Which drives the belly close beneath the chin:
My beard turns up to heaven; my nape falls in,
Fixed on my spine; my breastbone visibly
Grows like a harp; a rich embroidery
Bedews my face from brush-drops thick and thin;
My loins into my paunch like levers grind;
My buttock like a crupper bears my weight;
My feet unguided wander to and fro;
In front my skin grows loose and long, behind
By bending it becomes more taut and straight:
Backward I strain me like a Syrian bow,
Whence false and quaint, I know,
Must be the fruit of squinting brain and eye:
For ill can aim the gun that bends awry!
Come then, Giovanni, try
To succor my dead pictures and my fame;
Since foul I fare, and painting is my shame.[23]

were completed in 1512. The letter in the British Museum in which Michelangelo says, "I have finished the chapel which I painted," is without date. Wilson, who quotes it (p. 187, op. cit.), says "evidently 1512" (note 1).

[23] No. 5, p. 158 of Guasti's edition. Translated by J. Addington Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy*, Vol. III. Appendix 2.

If we consider the state of the chapel when Michelangelo began to paint in it, we shall realize how large an area of wall-surface had yet to be covered. The side walls had been decorated with a series of frescos painted before the death of Sixtus IV. by Luca Signorelli, Perugino, Roselli, Pinturicchio, Botticelli, and Ghirlandajo (some of which were afterwards destroyed to make room at the end of the chapel for the Last Judgment), and with a continuous row of draperies directly under them filled the space between the floor and the cornice, with the exception of that occupied by six round-headed windows on each side of the chapel, and by two at the upper end.

Michelangelo divided the vaulted ceiling into compartments, within which he painted scenes from the Book of Genesis. In the pendentives he represented the sublime figures of the Sibyls and Prophets, and in the lunettes scenes from the Old Testament. All these he bound together by a simulated architectural framework, vivified by figures representing the genii of architecture.

On entering the Sistine Chapel for the first time, the mind receives a somewhat confused impression, owing to the multiplicity of compositions and figures. Gigantic forms are strewn with an unsparing hand over the great vaulted space, like stars in the firmament, — a galaxy of human shapes, forming separate constellations, whose limits are defined by architectural divisions, and ornaments painted in relief. It is as if the historical scenes and prophetic aspects of the Old Testament had been suddenly unrolled before our eyes, and we were called upon to take in their double meaning at a glance. Seeking the key, we naturally begin by looking at the frescos of Ghirlandajo and Perugino on the side walls, representing incidents belonging to the old and the new dispensation, — the law of Moses and the law of Christ, — but, admirable as we might think them elsewhere, we have here eyes for Michelangelo only. Compared with the lyric grandeur of inspiration which animates his work, the spirit of the older masters seems cold and lifeless. In looking at their work we can talk about the laws of composition and form, and coldly analyze, but when we look upwards

we are swept along by the resistless current of the artist's inspiration. Throwing aside traditions, precepts, maxims, laws, canons of proportion and of taste, and all other weapons of criticism, we give ourselves up to the master-spirit to do with us as he will.

The theme of the great poem which he has spread before us is man and his redemption. The separation of light from darkness, the creation of the sun and moon, and of man and woman by the hand of God, the Fall and Expulsion from Paradise, the Deluge, the Sacrifice and Drunkenness of Noah, and many typical incidents of Jewish history are represented in it, and the compartments which contain these compositions are separated from each other by nude figures seated upon pedestals, placed on either side of the spaces filled by the sublime forms of the Prophets and Sibyls, whose names, as foretellers of the coming of Christ, are inscribed upon tablets held aloft by genii. Painted in dark tones of stone or bronze, they serve to bind the whole together, to divide space into clearly appreciable masses, and to give the ceiling that aspect of solidity which is attained in real construction by material means. The nude figures which have been called the genii of architecture, though more properly, perhaps, they might be called the genii of decorative art, have a faun-like character expressing exuberance of life. They show us that the human form was so absolutely all in all to Michelangelo, that he used it decoratively in lieu of grotesques, arabesques, and conventional foliage, and thus imparted a unity of effect to his ceiling which could not have been attained in any other way.[24]

Before he had proceeded far with his work Michelangelo was thrown into a state of despair by the appearance of mould upon the freshly painted surface. "I told you," he said to the Pope, "that I was no fresco-painter; what I have done is ruined. If you doubt it, send some

[24] "Discarding all pictorial accessories, such as costume, landscape, picturesque grouping, etc., Michelangelo, taking the human form as his one theme, relieves it by no element of variety save that of attitude, and yet avoids monotony. He gives us no lovely natural objects, like Lionardo, but only blank ranges of rock, and dim vegetable forms as blank as they; no lovely draperies and comely gestures of life, but only the austere truths of human nature." — *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*, Pater, p. 66.

one to look at it." When Giuliano da Sangallo came, he consoled the alarmed artist by telling him that it arose from the peculiar quality of the Roman plaster, and would disappear as that gradually became dry.[25] With his mind set at ease, he began to paint the Deluge, but finding that, on account of their small size, the figures produced no effect when looked at from the floor of the chapel, he adopted in the remaining compartments that far grander scale of proportion which met all requirements, and gave him a much greater opportunity for the display of his powers. This is not at all incompatible with his having prepared a general design before he began to paint,[26] for in this there would have been no question of relative scale to height of ceiling from floor. The great crowd of figures in the Deluge, as he designed it, necessarily limited their size, and may have led him into an error which he might have avoided, had he duly considered the dimensions of the compartment in which it was to be painted, and expressed his subject by a group.

If we were asked to point out the finest figure in the Sistine Chapel, we should unhesitatingly select the Adam, perhaps the grandest single figure to be met with in the whole range of modern art. The fresco to which it belongs represents God the Father, as a venerable old man, stretching forth his right hand until it touches that of Adam, which rises to meet it, as if compelled by a magnetic power. Reclining upon his mother earth, and but half awakened to consciousness, the first man draws his first breath, and receives the gift of life from the Divine Hand. His attitude recalls that of the Theseus, and like it the Adam is a noble abstract of form, — an abstract less pure, less in accordance with the higher laws of sculpture than the Parthenon marble, but yet nearer to the Greek standard than any modern figure with which we are acquainted.

[25] Vasari, Vol. XII. p. 191. Mr. Wilson does not find the reason given satisfactory, but offers no explanation. See p. 158, op. cit.

[26] Mr. Heath Wilson, p. 145, gives as a reason for believing that Michelangelo made no such mistake in the size of the figures, "that he prepared a general design for the entire vault before he began to paint."

The Creation of Eve, like that of Adam, is one of those compositions which establish a type. God here calls the mother of mankind into existence, and she comes at his command, bending forward with clasped hands, her first act one of adoration. The Temptation and the Expulsion from Paradise, which fill the next compartment of the ceiling, represent progressive stages of the story of the Fall in one composition, a common practice in earlier times, of which it will be sufficient to cite the reliefs by Ghiberti upon the second gate of the Baptistery, and the frescos by Masaccio and Filippino Lippi in the Carmine Chapel at Florence as typical examples. The skill with which Michelangelo has combined two actions in this fresco, so as to keep them distinct and yet give a single impression to the eye, is such that he who can quarrel with the result must be overstrict about the unities. Few works are finer in composition, and few more powerful in expression, and yet the impression left upon the mind is somewhat distasteful. The Preparation for a Sacrifice and the Drunkenness of Noah, represented in the two other compartments of the ceiling, as well as the Judith and Holofernes, the David and Goliath, the Brazen Serpent, and the Hanging of Haman, in the pendentives, are conceived in the same grand spirit as the rest, but we shall not treat of them in detail, as we prefer to dwell upon the general character of the frescos rather than to repeat descriptions given abundantly elsewhere.

One of their most striking and admirable characteristics is their thoroughly Biblical nature. They are the work of an artist who has so imbibed the spirit of Sacred Writ, that even when dealing with the Sibyls, whose connection with ancient life might have led him out of the sphere of the Scriptures, he treats them as seers filled with the spirit of prophecy and occupied only with the Messiah's advent.

The Delphic Sibyl, once Apollo's mouthpiece (the eloquent virgin who died and was buried in the wood sacred to the Sminthian Apollo in the Troad), has revived to announce the coming of the Saviour. With raised head, and hands which hold the sacred scroll, she looks out with noble confidence upon a world whose future is assured. The

Cumæan Sibyl, who foretold the greatness of Rome and the end of the world, is poring over the pages of a book, as if not yet mistress of the greater secret which her sisters have mastered. The Libyan, daughter of Jupiter and granddaughter of Neptune, forgetting the fables of classic days, sits in strangely contorted attitude like a Delphic priestess upon her tripod, while she recounts the future miracles of Christ, and speaks of the virgin who shall nourish him in her bosom. The Erythræan Sibyl (Fig. 8), who sees the Saviour, and the Persian, who talks of the Deluge and calls herself a Christian, appear more calmly before the world, the first with her hand resting upon the open pages of a book, the second intently reading in a volume which she holds in her uplifted hands.

Fig. 8.

These grand female figures alternate with those of the Prophets in the pendentives of the ceiling. Isaiah (Fig. 9), Jeremiah, Daniel, and Ezekiel, who starts forward as if he saw the celestial vision which he has recorded, are all here, together with three of the lesser prophets, Jonah, Joel, and Zachariah,[27] each one attended by a familiar spirit who prompts his utterance.

[27] Neither in his Sibyls nor his Prophets, with the single exception of the Jeremiah, has

"Seeing on all sides these terrible faces," says Michelet,[28] "one does not know who first to listen to, nor from whom to ask an explanation. The gigantic creatures are so intently absorbed that one does not dare to address them. Ezekiel is engaged in a furious dispute; Daniel copies, copies, without stopping even to breathe; the *Lybica* is about to rise from her seat; Zachariah, aged and bald, in his eagerness to read is unaware of the fatiguing attitude which he has taken; the *Persica*, with pointed nose, wrapped in her old woman's mantle which covers her head, humpbacked through age and through centuries of reading, miserly and envious, wears out her eager eyes over a little book written in illegible

Fig. 9.

Michelangelo adopted the language of mediævalism. In the Middle Ages, the Persian Sibyl is represented as holding a lantern, she having announced the coming of Christ, the light of the world; the Libyan a torch, because she predicted the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles; the Delphic a crown of thorns, as she announced the humiliation of the Son of God; the Erythræan a naked sword, as being the prophetess of divine vengeance; the Cumæan a manger or a cradle, because she announced that Christ would be born in a stable. In mediæval art, Daniel appears seated in the lion's den or clothed with the robe of a Babylonian noble; Jeremiah sits like Michelangelo's prophet mourning over the ruins of Jerusalem; Isaiah holds the saw, instrument of his martyrdom, or the burning coal which purified his lips; Ezekiel is absorbed in reading, with the four animals and the flaming wheels which he saw in his vision near him. See Crosnier's *Iconographie Chrétienne.*

[28] *La Renaissance*, par J. Michelet, pp. 401, 402.

characters. She doubtless reads late into the night, for I see beside her the beautiful *Erythræa*, who has relighted her smouldering fire and trimmed her lamp, that she may write. Studious and learned Sibyls, ye belong to the sixteenth century. The youngest, the *Delphica*, who thunders from her tripod, is the only ancient one among you. Virgin and fruitful, overflowing with the spirit of prophecy, with swollen breasts and dilated nostrils, she launches a bitter glance from her eyes, — that of the Virgin of Tauris."

All these Sibyls and Prophets form the chorus to the great drama of humanity upon the ceiling. Their inspired voices ring out the noble lines of Virgil which announce the return of Astræa and the sending down of a new progeny from high heaven, but with a deeper meaning. As we listen to them we seem to hear such prophetic words as these in which the Celtic bards predicted a better future:[29] —

"1. Three things diminish day by day, as day by day antagonism grows, — hatred, injustice, and ignorance.

"2. Three things strengthen day by day, as day by day the world tends toward them, — love, science, and justice.

"3. Three things continually diminish, — obscurity, error, and death.

"4. Three things continually grow, — light, truth, and life.

"These things will in the end predominate over all the rest, and then evil will be destroyed."

Michelangelo did his part as man and as artist in the great work of which that consummation will be the result. He fought perpetually against hatred, injustice, ignorance, and error. He grew in love, attained science, and had a high sense of justice; he conquered death by a strong faith, and walking with truth and aiming at the life eternal, advanced steadily to the light.

To have conceived and executed such a work as the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel demanded a man who was all that he was. He here showed himself as architect in construction, as sculptor in form, as painter in design and color, as poet in imagination. Perhaps no

[29] *Archæologie Celtique*, par Henri Martin, p. 424.

other man ever lived who could have grappled successfully with such an enterprise, for even if we could name one who had the requisite knowledge of all the arts of design, and the poetical genius, this knowledge and that gift would not have been sufficient for the task without his titanic boldness of spirit. To Michelangelo the blank wall and the shapeless marble from the quarry were full of illimitable possibilities; the brush and the chisel were the keys with which he opened the doors of the temple of humanity, out of which came prophets and kings and prisoners at his bidding. To will and to do, to think and to act, to attempt what seemed beyond human power and to succeed, to materialize the creatures of his imagination, however abstract, in marble or color — this he did through that self-reliance which gave him courage to undertake what no one else could have carried through.

It is precisely on account of his daring contempt of limitations, that the painter of the Sistine Chapel ceiling seems to us far greater than the sculptor of the Medici tombs. The same power, the same *maniera terribile*, shows itself in both, but in the one its use is much more legitimate than in the other, for of all the arts sculpture is the most limited in its range of expression.

In the "Laocoön," which treats of the proper limits of painting and poetry, Lessing sustains the just theory that the arts can only be brought to perfection by rigorously confining each to its separate domain. This domain is more or less wide according as the art in question is more or less fettered by the material which forms its avenue of expression. The range widens for painting and music, and attains perfect freedom of expression in poetry. That of sculpture is, then, the narrowest of all, for its office is to represent form in marble. That of painting, with all the resources of grouping, color, perspective, and light and shade, is wider, though even it is far less free than poetry. The poet, "not being obliged, like the painter, to limit his subject to a moment of time, takes any subject which pleases him, and follows it up from its source through every change. Each phase, which would cost the painter a separate work, costs him but a single stroke

of the pen; and lest this stroke, taken by itself, should trouble the imagination of his auditor, it may be so prepared by what goes before, or so softened and improved by that which follows, as to leave the happiest impression upon his mind."[30] If we accept the above reasoning as sound, we see why Michelangelo sinned least against canons of taste in the art which allowed him most freedom, namely, in that of painting, though here, too, he often overstepped legitimate bounds. Better than any other artist he could have signed his statues "Pictor," and his pictures "Sculptor," for he used the chisel like a brush and oftentimes the brush like a chisel.[31] In the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel the sculptor everywhere shows his face behind the painter's work, and yet Michelangelo was greater as a painter than as a sculptor, because painting allowed his thoughts quicker expression, since it placed fewer material obstacles in his way. It was because he would not acknowledge to himself that the sculptor is more or less enslaved by material exigencies that he has left us so many half-finished statues.

Had he followed in his art the advice which he gave to his father, "Do what you have to do without getting into a passion about it, for there is nothing which we are called upon to do, however great, that will not appear small if approached calmly," these would have been fewer, and had he applied it to circumstances, half the troubles and annoyances of his life would have been avoided. They were manifold while he was painting in the Sistine Chapel. In June, 1508, when preparing to commence his work there, he writes, "I am sick at heart, ill, and worn out with fatigue, helpless and penniless. For thirteen months the Pope has paid me nothing." A year later, he complains, "the Pope has given me no money for a twelvemonth; but I do not ask for it, for I feel that I have not earned it, and this because painting is not the sort of work which I am fit for. I waste my time

[30] Lessing's *Works*, Vol. III. pp. 37, 38, ed. Carlsruhe.

[31] In a letter to Varchi, Michelangelo says, "a me soleva parere che la scultura fosse la lanterna della pittura." Vasari says that he was wont to model the figures for his cartoons in clay or wax (as Correggio is known to have done), that he might study perspective and effects of light and shade.

and perfect nothing." In one of these moments of despair and discontent he wrote that powerful sonnet in which he protests against the uses to which papal tyranny has subjected him. What bitter words are these of his to Julius:—

"I am thy drudge, and have been from my youth.
Thine, like the rays which the sun's circle fill;
Yet of my dear time's waste thou think'st no ill:
The more I toil, the less I move thy ruth."[32]

[32] No. III. Guasti, *Le Rime*, etc., p. 156. Sonnet written in 1506. Translated by J. Addington Symonds, op. cit.

CHAPTER V.

"Es wächst der Mensch mit seinen grösseren Zwecken." — GOETHE.

HILE Rome, with all its associations and its myriad objects of interest and beauty, had comparatively little effect upon Michelangelo, who there as elsewhere seemed clad in a mental armor of proof which blunted all weapons directed against him, it quickened the genius of Raphael and affected his style. Michelangelo copied the Faun's mask at Lorenzo's Academy, imitated the antique in his Cupid for a special purpose, restored several antique statues, and is said to have admired the Torso of the Vatican;[1] but, unlike Raphael, he expressed no enthusiasm for classic art, either by word of mouth or pen, and certainly showed but little trace of its influence in his works. The causes of his development are difficult to discover, whereas those of Raphael's growth may be followed up to their point of departure as clearly as the folds in the drapery of a fine statue. His works successively reflect the faces of Giovanni Santi and Perugino, of Lionardo,

[1] In M. de Chantelou's journal of the visit of Bernini to France in 1665 (see *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, February 1, 1877, p. 203), the sculptor relates that Cardinal Salviati, bishop of Ferrara, one day found Michelangelo on his knees before the Torso, so absorbed in contemplating it that for some time he returned no answer to the questions addressed to him. When at length he recovered himself and perceived the Cardinal, he said, "This is the work of a man who knew more about nature than any one; it is a great misfortune that it has been so mutilated."

CHAPTER V.

Raphael, 1508–1513.

Vatican frescos. First chamber, called "della Segnatura."
1. The Dispute of the Sacrament.
2. The Parnassus.
3. The School of Athens.
4. The Jurisprudence.
} 1508–1511.

Vatican Frescos. Second chamber, called "of the Heliodorus."
1. The Heliodorus.
2. The Mass of Bolsena (in part)
} 1512–1513.

Single figures and groups in the medallions and pendentives of the ceiling in both chambers, connected with these frescos. Before 1513.

1.	The Madonna of the Hermitage?.....	1508	St. Petersburgh.
2.	The Esterhazy Madonna.....	1508	Pesth.
3.	Madonna of the Veil.....	1508	Five repetitions: 1. Brocca collection, Milan. 2. Amsterdam. 3. Pesth. 4. Blenheim. 5. Westminster Gallery, London.
4.	Portrait of a young man (Raphael?).....	Date?	Louvre, Paris.
5.	The Fornarina.....	1509	Barberini Palace, Rome.
6.	Portrait of Pope Julius II.....	1512	Pitti Gallery, Florence.
7.	The Madonna Alba.....	1510–1512	Hermitage, St. Petersburgh.
8.	The Madonna Aldobrandini.....	1510–1512	National Gallery, London.
9.	The Madonna of the Diadem.....	1510–1512	Louvre, Paris.
10.	Portrait of Bindo Altoriti.....	1512	Pinacothek, Munich.
11.	Madonna of the Palm.....	1511	Lord Ellesmere, London.
12.	Madonna of the Rogers collection.....	1511	Mrs. R. I. Makintosh, London.
13.	Madonna del Foligno.....	1511	Vatican, Rome.
14.	Isaiah (fresco).....	1512	San Agostino, Rome.
15.	The Fornarina (so-called).....	1512	Uffizi, Florence.
	(Attributed to Giorgione and to Sebastiano del Piombo.)		
16.	Portrait of the Duke of Mantua	1513	Charlecote Park, England.
17.	Madonna of Loreto.....	1513	Lost. Copy at Louvre.
18.	Holy Family of Naples.....	1513	Royal Gallery, Naples.

Fra Bartolomeo, and Michelangelo, as a running river reflects the objects upon its banks.

Umbria, Florence, and Rome each play their part in the shaping of his art, and yet his individuality is unaffected, like that of the river whose tributary streams increase its volume as it flows on to the sea, but do not otherwise change it. Precisely because he was so quick to feel and respond to external influences, Rome, during the reigns of Julius and of Leo, was the most desirable residence for Raphael. She took possession of him, and from the day when the Pope received him in the Camera della Segnatura[2] to that of his death he was "civis Romanus" in thought, word, and deed.

The restoration of Rome to her ancient glory was the ruling idea which he shared in common with other distinguished men at the papal court, over which the Sovereign Pontiff presided, dispensing life and heat to all around him, like the sun in the centre of the heavenly system. To restore the walls, the palaces and temples of the ancient city, to rebuild the ruined basilicas, to raise new churches of stately dimensions beside them, and to undertake art enterprises upon a hitherto unequalled scale of magnitude, had been the wish of Charlemagne the Frank, Theodoric the Goth, and Theodolinda the Lombard queen; when the long night of the Dark Ages had passed away it prompted the Countess Matilda to give her lands and money to Pope Gregory VII., and in the fourteenth century it stirred the heart of Petrarch. The letters of the poet, who, though not a Roman by birth, was the most Roman of the Romans, are filled with passionate appeals to the recreant pontiff who lay sleeping at Avignon under silken hangings, while the Lateran, mother of all churches, was roofless and abandoned, and the streets of Rome were grass-grown and desolate. When at last Urban returned from his voluntary exile, the poet rested in the hope that a new era of prosperity was about to dawn upon the city of his

[2] So called from a tribunal held in it under the presidency of the Pope. It and the adjoining rooms, known as the Stanze of Raphael, are situated in a part of the Vatican built by Pope Nicholas V., about 1450–1455.

affections. The power of the Renaissance to redeem her waste places, which showed itself in all that was accomplished by Eugenius IV., Nicholas V., Pius II., Sixtus IV., and Innocent V., was not, however, fully felt until the days of Julius II. and Leo X., when all those great schemes for the embellishment of Rome were entered upon, which added the noblest works of modern art to her ancient treasures, and by forging a link between the past and the present made her mistress of both. The past was even more real to the minds of men than the present, in the Rome which Raphael and Michelangelo knew. Men wrote, thought, and talked in a pagan spirit, mingling the old wine with the new, heathen philosophy with Christian theology. The orgies of the Empire had been renewed under Alexander VI., the suppers of Trimalchion surpassed, the crimes of Nero and Caligula equalled, and now some of the nobler phases of her ancient life were to be revived under Julius and Leo.

The growing influence of the antique upon Raphael after his arrival in Rome is clearly traceable in his great works. Although he had perhaps seen and studied statues and gems at Urbino, and certainly at Florence, he began to work at the Vatican in a mediæval spirit, showing himself still the disciple of a school whose chief aim was to glorify the Church, to illustrate her dogmas, and incorporate her types. In the "Disputa" he illustrated her power, displayed the splendors of the celestial hierarchy, and portrayed the wise, the learned, the gifted, — popes and scholars, poets and artists, — acknowledging the light from heaven transmitted through her to be the only guide to truth. In the Parnassus he stepped from the mediæval world into that of the Renaissance, and represented the green summits of Helicon shaded with laurel groves, beneath which the great poets of every age meet in friendly converse at the court of Apollo. Possessed by a new spirit, he uttered words not to be found in the dictionary of Holy Mother Church, and talked in a language whose idioms are not in her grammar. The ideas which he expressed were in the air, and he gave them utterance in form and color. It was to Rome that he owed this change of aim

and transformation of style, this widening of the boundaries of his art, this casting off the shackles of system, by which he gained a strength which enabled him to wear the chains of art so lightly, that though controlled by them he yet walked in perfect freedom. The originality of his mind saved him from falling into that slavish imitation of antique forms which the incessant study of ancient art might otherwise have induced, so that when he repeated an antique group, such as the Three Graces at Siena (Fig. 7), or a statue, such as the Ariadne of the Vatican, or treated a classical subject, such as the Lucretia or the Galatea, or used an Apollo or a Minerva to decorate the niches of the great Hall of Assembly in the School of Athens, he did so with modifications and changes which made them his own.[3]

Leo X. appointed Raphael chief inspector of all marbles dug up at Rome,[4] and commissioned him to make plans and elevations of ancient

[3] It would be very interesting, if it were possible, to know exactly what antique works were gathered together at Rome in Raphael's time. Poggio Bracciolini states that in the middle of the fifteenth century — sixty years before — there were but six statues of bronze and marble to be seen at Rome. This was during the papacy of Nicholas V. As the tastes of this pope were scholastic, while those of his successor, Æneas Sylvius (Pius II.), were archæological, probably neither of these popes added much to the artistic treasures of the city. Here and there only do we hear of ancient marbles as seen and admired by such men as Ghiberti, Brunelleschi, and Donatello, most of which were probably sold to enrich the collections of the Medici at Florence. But few of the statues which Julius II. collected in the Gardens of the Belvidere to form the beginning of the Vatican Museum are known to us. The Laocoön, discovered in the Baths of Titus in 1506, the Torso of the Belvidere, and the Ariadne, were certainly among them, for we know of Michelangelo's examination of the first to identify it with the group described by Pliny; of his admiration for the second; and we are assured of the presence of the third by Marc Antonio's engraving after Raphael's drawing. There, too, was the Apollo Belvidere, then lately discovered at Porto d' Anzo. Doubtless many other statues might be added to this list, but still the collections formed by Julius and Leo cannot have been very extensive, as one division of the Vatican Gallery (the Museo Pio Clementino) not only contains them all, together with those added by Clement VII. and Paul III., but also more than two thousand statues brought together during the reign of Pius VI. (1769 - 1775). Michelangelo restored the arm of the Dying Gaul (Gladiator), both legs of the Hercules (Farnese), and the head and right arm of the Nile.

[4] This was in order that inscriptions and all marbles used in the building of St. Peter's

Roman buildings, but how far he had accomplished this gigantic task at the time of his death is not known, though he had certainly made many drawings, as the letters of his contemporaries testify.

Among them is one written by Marc Antonio Michiel de Ser Vettor, a noble Venetian, to a friend at Venice, in which, after giving an account of Raphael's last moments, he says: "He had drawn the ancient edifices of Rome in a book, with their proportions, forms, and ornaments, so faithfully, that any who had seen his drawings could in some sort say that he had seen ancient Rome."[5] In a letter written by Calcagnini he says: "By digging down accumulations of earth, and making restorations according to the descriptions of ancient authors, Raphael has so greatly excited the admiration of Leo X. and of the Roman people that they regard him as a god sent from heaven to give back her ancient glory to the Eternal City."[6]

The following passage from Raphael's report of his work to the Pope[7] gives an idea of the spirit in which he prosecuted this great enterprise, and of the depth of his feeling about Rome. "Some people," he says, "believe that the stories told about the wonders of Rome are fables, but my study of her ancient remains has brought me to the conclusion that many things which are impossible to us were mere child's play to the ancient Romans. By long and careful inspection of ancient monuments, by reading ancient authors and comparing their descriptions

should be saved. The papal brief orders all persons who find marbles and other stones at Rome, or within a circuit of ten miles around it, to report the same to Raphael within three days, under a penalty of three hundred ducats in case of non-compliance. This penalty applies to any one who, without Raphael's permission, breaks or cuts any stone having an inscription upon it. The brief is printed in the first edition of the French edition of Passavant's *Life of Raphael*, pp. 506, 507.

[5] Dated April 11, 1520. *Notizia d' opere di disegno scritta da-un Anonimo.* Bassano, 1800. p. 210, note 128.

[6] "Nunc Romam in Roma quærit reperitque Raphael. Quærere, magni hominis: sed reperire, Dei est."

[7] This report was formerly attributed to Count Castiglione, but both Morelli (*l' Anonimo*, p. 213) and Passavant (op. cit. p. 263), who admits the possible co-operation of Castiglione as a literary man, declare that it was written by Raphael.

with the existing ruins, I think that I have acquired some knowledge of ancient architecture. To know anything so excellent is a source of great pleasure to me, but at the same time I am filled with the deepest grief when I behold the dead body of this noble city, once queen of the world, but now so miserably lacerated." Raphael then points to the Goths and Vandals as the authors of her present state of ruin, blames those popes who permitted the destruction of so many fine buildings, statues, and triumphal arches, as well as the people who have undermined edifices to extract "pozzolana," and have made lime out of marble cornices and statues, and asserts his belief that all the buildings of modern Rome are built of mortar made out of pulverized marbles. "Since I have been in Rome, now less than twelve years," he adds, "I have witnessed the destruction of many fine monuments, such as the Meta Sudans in the Via Alexandrina, the arch which stood at the entrance to the Baths of Diocletian, as well as of many splendid columns, architraves, and friezes, — acts which Hannibal himself would have been ashamed of."

Postponing what we have to say about Raphael's education as an architect, which was begun under Bramante and perfected by his own subsequent studies of ancient buildings, we turn to consider those frescos at the Vatican which he was commissioned to paint at his first interview with Julius II., to whom he was presented by his compatriot Bramante, and from whom, as Vasari tells us,[8] he received many caresses.[9]

The Camera della Segnatura, in which he shortly after began to paint the Dispute of the Sacrament, has been well called the Chamber

[8] Vol. VIII. p. 14.

[9] Tischbein (*Aus meinem Leben*, I. 186) gives this somewhat theatrical account of Raphael's reception by the Pope: "Presented by his uncle, Bramante, the young artist, whose long fair hair fell upon his shoulders, knelt before his Holiness, who, struck with his beauty, raised him up, saying, 'Here is a pure and blameless angel; he shall have Cardinal Bembo for his master, and he shall cover these walls with paintings.'" Grimm (op. cit. p. 195) ridicules this story. He would like to know how many young painters with flaxen hair, much enthusiasm, little talent, and less knowledge, have travelled

of the Faculties,[10] because the subjects depicted represent the sum of knowledge through which man arrives at Divine truth. Theology, poetry, philosophy, and jurisprudence are there illustrated by the Dispute of the Sacrament, the Parnassus, the School of Athens, and the Jurisprudence (called also the Three Virtues), and by four symbolic figures in medallions, and four compositions representing the Temptation, the Apollo and Marsyas, the Astronomy, and the Judgment of Solomon. Of the four kinds of knowledge, that of the Divine is illustrated by the "Disputa," the Theology, the Temptation, and by the Apollo and Marsyas, which is indirectly connected with it, for when Dante prays Apollo to

> "Enter into my bosom then, and breathe
> As at the time when Marsyas thou didst draw
> Out of the scabbard of those limbs of his," [11]

he expresses the hope that, thus freed from fleshly bonds and filled with the Divine spirit, he will be better able to describe the celestial scenes which are about to open before him during his journey.

Human knowledge is illustrated by the School of Athens, and by the single figures of Philosophy and Astronomy, which latter stands for the sciences.

Judicial knowledge, or the knowledge of truth and right, is figured in the Jurisprudence, the Justice, and the Judgment of Solomon, which is the type of human justice inspired by God, whilst knowledge of the beautiful is set forth by the Parnassus, the Poesy, and the Apollo and Marsyas, which illustrates the victory of true over false art.

to Rome under its influence only to find that they have mistaken their vocation. In a more legitimate strain of argument he points out that Bramante was not Raphael's uncle, that Bembo was neither Cardinal nor at Rome in 1508, and that Raphael, when he finished the frescos of the first chamber, was twenty-nine years old.

[10] Passavant, op. cit. p. 113.

[11] "Entra nel petto mio, e spira tue,
Si come quando Marsia traesti
Della vagina delle membre sue."

Paradiso, Canto I. v. 19.

That the "Disputa" (see Fig. 10) was the first fresco painted by Raphael at the Vatican is clearly indicated by its obviously symmetrical arrangement, its puristic treatment, and its Umbrian spirit. It represents a discussion about church symbols and doctrines between many men of many minds, upon which a miraculous vision sheds its light; and symbolizes, through the mystery of the Eucharist, the re-

FIG. 10.

La Disputa del Sacramento

lation established between God and man by the redemption. It is an image of the agreement between the saints of the Old and New Testament in heaven, and the theologians, poets, and artists upon earth. It is not a discussion so much as the closing by a vision of a discussion upon points of faith. Opinions and arguments having been advanced and sustained, and human intelligence having proved itself inadequate to the task of solving heavenly mysteries, the clouds sep-

arate and the celestial hierarchy appears in all its glory. Rays of light like golden harp-strings illumine the sky, and between them countless cherubim are seen surrounding the Trinity.

"In fashion there as of a snow-white rose
Displayed itself to me the saintly host,
Whom Christ in his own blood had made his bride."

"O Trinal light, that in a single star
Sparkling upon their sight so satisfies them,
Look down upon our tempest here below." [12]

Christ sits below God the Father, between the Madonna and St. John the Baptist, under an overarching rainbow, with saints, patriarchs, prophets, and martyrs ranged on either hand. On his right are St. Peter with the Bible as guardian of the faith, and the keys as holder of the power to bind and to loose; Adam, father of the human race; St. John, revealer of Divine truth in the Apocalypse; David with crown and harp, of whose house Christ in his human nature was a member; and St. Stephen, the first martyr, with a companion saint. On his left are St. Paul with the sword, emblem of his martyrdom, as also of the penetrating nature of his doctrines; Abraham with the knife of sacrifice, first symbol of the sacrifice of the Lamb of God; St. James, third witness of the Transfiguration and type of hope, as St. Peter is of faith, and St. John of love; Moses with the tables of the law, St. Lorenzo, and St. George.

This saintly host, sitting in light above the earth upon a great bank of clouds, is, as it were, reflected by another host, in the lower part of the fresco, as objects are reflected in a lake.

[12] "In forma dunque di candida rosa
Mi si mostrava la milizia santa,
Che nel suo sangue Cristi fece sposa."

"O Trina luce, che in unica stella
Scintillando a lor vista si gli appaga,
Guarda quaggiuso alla nostra procella."

Paradiso, Canto XXXI. vs. 1–3, 28–30.

"And as a hill in water at its base
Mirrors itself, as if to see its beauty
When affluent most in verdure and in flowers,
So ranged aloft all round about the light,
Mirrored I saw in more ranks than a thousand
All who above there have from us returned.
And if the lowest row collect within it
So great a light, how vast the amplitude
Is of this rose in its extremest leaves." [13]

The crowding disputants, some sunk in thought, some absorbed in reading, and others casting away their books as if suddenly illumined with truth from on high, are grouped around an altar upon which the Eucharist is exposed in a pyx. On either side sit the four great fathers of the Latin church. To the left is St. Jerome, type of contemplative life, absorbed in meditation of the sacred unity, with the Vulgate and his letters lying near him; to the right St. Ambrose, representing the church militant, with his eyes and hands raised as if ravished by celestial harmonies. Near him are his great convert, St. Augustine, in the act of dictating his Confessions to a scribe, Pope Anacletus, martyr, and San Bonaventura, "Doctor Seraphicus," reading in a book. Opposite St. Augustine is St. Gregory the Great, in pontifical robes, with his Commentaries on the Book of Job (*Liber Moralium*) lying near him. St. Bernard, with his hands stretched out towards the altar, is next to St. Jerome; then comes Petrus Lombardus, "Doctor sententiarum," founder of scholastic theology, who first wrote

[13] "Σ come clivo che in acqua de' suo imo
Si specchia, quasi per vedersi adorno,
Quardo é nel verde, e ne' fioretti opimo;
Si, sopustando allume intorno intorno,
Vidi specchiani inpiu di mille soglie,
Quanto di noi lassù fatto ha ritorno.
E se l'infimo grado in sè raccoglie
Si grande lume, quant' è la larghezza
Di questa rosa nell estreme foglie?"

Paradiso, Canto XXX. vs. 109–117.

a discussion on the Sacraments; Duns Scotus, "Doctor subtilis," and Thomas Aquinas, "Doctor Angelicus."

The Pope seen in profile, who is pointed out by a philosopher to the notice of a young man leaning upon a balustrade in the foreground, is generally said to be Innocent III., author of the Veni Creator and the Stabat Mater, but the face is the face of Sixtus IV., the uncle of Julius, to whom he owed his success as an ecclesiastic. Behind him are Dante and Savonarola.[14] The two bishops to the left of the altar represent the clergy, and the noble figure turning towards it, with his discarded books lying at his feet, is a scholar, convinced that wisdom is to be found in the teachings of the Church only. The three young men who do homage to the Eucharist stand for the people, the priests and laics for the schismatics, and heresy is typified by a sectary interpreting a passage from the Scriptures to a crowd of auditors. It has been plausibly suggested[15] that the church on the hill in the landscape to the left of the altar, is the old basilica of St. Peter, whose destruction was begun about a year before Raphael's arrival at Rome; and that the architectural base to the right typifies the new church, of which Julius, whose name is inscribed upon the *pala* of the altar, was the founder.

While the composition of this noble work is not exempt from the formalism of Perugino's school,[16] there is no trace of it in the forms, attitudes, or draperies of the single figures. These were not surpassed in easy grace of movement or in expressive gesture by Raphael in his later works, nor did he ever paint a finer group than that of the heresiarch and the disputants, or a more vigorous and characteristic head than that of Dante.

The Temptation and the figure of Theology on the ceiling of the

[14] The representation of the martyred Dominican in such company is a protest against the sentence of Alexander VI., which declared him to be a heretic. In the reign of Julius II., who honored him, this judgment was reversed. He was already looked upon as a saint, though he was not canonized until 1751, by Benedict XIV.

[15] *Das Leben Raphael*, H. Grimm, p. 355.

[16] The upper portion of the "Disputa" resembles the fresco by Raphael in the Church of San Severo at Perugia in general arrangement.

room, which are connected with the "Disputa," strike us not only by their beauty, but also by their fitness as a part of the general scheme. Biblical stories like the first could not have been introduced into a composition intended to illustrate man's need of enlightenment about matters too deep for him to fathom without aid from on high; nor could allegorical subjects like the second have been combined in it with the representation of historical persons who had labored for the faith and done their part to defend and sustain it,[17] and as neither could be ignored, it was necessary to use each separately, outside of and yet dependent upon the great fresco. This Raphael accomplished by treating them as a part of the decorations of the ceiling. The Temptation, which illustrates the necessity of redemption through Christ, is one of these detached parts of a great whole. In Michelangelo's composition of the same subject in the Sistine Chapel, the woman-headed serpent, having wound herself with the vigorous coils of an anaconda about the trunk of a tree, forces the forbidden fruit into the hand of a dark-haired, ox-eyed, passionate-looking Eve, who seems fitter for the life which is to follow the expulsion than for that which preceded it. Adam, eager to receive the fatal gift, cannot even wait until Eve offers it to him, but thrusts out his brawny arm to pluck it for himself. The passion which here agitates each of the actors in the drama is unknown to the gentle creatures depicted by Raphael. His tempter is apparently but a timid worker of evil. His Eve, with her golden hair and ingenuous face, offers the apple with a gentle courtesy, while Adam turns to the serpent with an inquiring look, as if he asked, "Is it lawful for me to eat?" It seems impossible that two such beings could have been tempted to disobey, for they are apparently destitute of that leaven of original sin which in ordinary human beings offers a point of attack to Satan.

[17] The idea of separating the allegorical figures from the wall pictures is entirely original and most admirable, as it completely avoids the confusion consequent upon mixing up symbolic with real persons, as Rubens did in the Marie de' Medici series of pictures at the Louvre.

Worthy indeed is the single figure of Theology to resume this triune work within itself.

> "Over her snow-white veil with olive cinct,
> Appeared a lady under a green mantle,
> Vested in color of the living flame." [18]

Seated upon a throne of clouds, and attended by two lovely genii, this image of calm and dignified beauty holds a book in one hand and points with the other to the scene where those momentous questions which concern her are under discussion.

The Pope's interest in Raphael's work led him not only to watch its progress, but to offer suggestions which, even when not of the happiest kind, could not well be disregarded; but more valuable counsels were given him by such learned men as Bibbiena, Castiglione, Bembo, and Sadoleto. He was not, like Michelangelo, a poet and a reader of great poems, accustomed from his early youth to ponder over the masterpieces of Italian literature, and was, therefore, somewhat dependent upon others for help when dealing with subjects whose adequate treatment demanded no little book learning. Before he painted the School of Athens his literary friends read such books as Diogenes Laertius to him, and when he was making ready for the Parnassus, they fed his spirit upon the *Paradiso* of Dante and the *Triumphs* of Petrarch. From Petrarch's *Triumph of Love*, in which Alcæus, Pindar, Anacreon, Virgil, Ovid, Catullus, Propertius, and Tibullus wander in a flowery and verdant meadow discoursing of love, he may have derived some valuable hints for the general treatment of his Parnassus; but in the *Divina Commedia* he found far richer sources of inspiration. The Homer [19]

[18] "Sovra candido vel cinta d' oliva
Donna m' apparve, sotto verde manto
Vestita di color di fiamma viva."
Purgatorio, Canto XXX. vs. 31–33.

[19] "Four mighty shades I saw approaching us;
Semblance had they nor sorrowful nor glad.
To say to me began my gracious Master:

of the fourth canto of the *Inferno* is like the painter's Homer, and the people "with solemn eyes and slow,"[20] whom Dante and Virgil saw when they "came into the meadow of fresh verdure," are like his Apollo, the Muses, and the great poets of every period, who sit under the shade of the laurel-trees upon the summit of the double-headed mount, with the Castalian fount at their feet,[21] and the yawning Corycian cave figured in the great window below them. Of the sisters nine this is Calliope, clad in a white tunic, who stands looking towards Homer, Virgil, and Dante; and this Polyhymnia, seated upon the grass with a lyre in her hand, and these farther in the background are Terpsichore, Euterpe, and Erato grouped together, in company with Melpomene, Urania, Thalia, and Clio.

This lovely woman reclining in the foreground is Sappho, with book and lyre, and the poets near her are Alcæus leaning against a laurel-

> Him with that falchion in his hand behold,
> Who comes before them, even as their Lord.
> That one is Homer, Poet sovereign;
> He who comes next is Horace, the satirist;
> The third is Ovid, and the last is Lucan."
>
> *Inferno*, Canto IV. v. 83.

[20] "We came into a meadow of fresh verdure.
People were there with solemn eyes and slow,
Of great authority in their countenance;
They spake but seldom and with gentle voices.
Thus we withdrew ourselves upon one side
Into an opening luminous and lofty,
So that they all of them were visible.
There opposite upon the green enamel
Were pointed out to me the mighty spirits
Whom to have seen I feel myself ennobled."

Inferno, Canto IV. v. 110 *et seq.*

[21] In the original design engraved by Marc Antonio, Apollo plays upon the lyre, and not, as in the fresco, upon the violin. The change was made, it is said, by the Pope's suggestion, as a delicate compliment to Giacomo Sanssecondo, an eminent *virtuoso* of the time, whose music was greatly admired at the papal court. The Violin-Player by Raphael at the Palazzo Sciarra is said to be a portrait of this same person.

tree, Petrarch, Corinna or Laura, and Ariosto, or the Tuscan poet, Francesco Berni. Those sons of song on the other side of the sacred hill are Pindar, who has Horace for his listener, Sanazzaro the Neapolitan poet, Anacreon (Ennius or Ovid), Aristophanes and Ariosto holding converse together, and not far from them are Terence and Plautus, Boccaccio and Tebaldeo, the latter a Ferrarese poet of Raphael's time.

Though less imposing than the "Disputa," and from the very nature of its subject less interesting than the School of Athens, the Parnassus (Fig. 11) has a serene beauty of its own. It is to the other frescos of

Fig. 11.

Raphael what the Pastoral Symphony is to the other symphonies of Beethoven. Few figures are more stately than its Homer, more inspired than its Pindar, more lovely than its Urania, more graceful than its Sappho. They are the first-fruits of the classical influences so lately brought to bear upon the painter at Rome, and have a peculiar interest in our eyes, as with them Raphael ceased to be exclusively a painter of religious subjects, and thenceforward treated Christian or pagan themes indifferently. In the single figure of Poetry upon the ceiling he caught

the spirit of the lyric poets of antiquity. Seated in a noble attitude, and wearing a laurel crown upon her head, she spreads her wings as if about to soar aloft. Her robe border is spangled with stars, and her deep blue mantle falls upon her crossed feet. With her dreamy eyes she seems to be watching the contest between Apollo and Marsyas, in which the god, representing true art, receives the laurel crown of victory, while the poor faun, suspended to a tree, hangs ready to be pulled "out of the scabbard of those limbs of his."

Raphael probably painted all the medallions and pendentives of the ceiling in this chamber after he had finished the four large frescos, for otherwise we should see a similar difference in style between them. This is not the case, for not only the biblical compositions, with perhaps the single exception of the Adam and Eve, but also the allegorical figures, — the Poesy, the Philosophy, the Theology, and the Jurisprudence, — are alike in style.

Theology and Poetry having been thus nobly illustrated, Philosophy next received a still nobler treatment at Raphael's hands. Looked at without reference to the subject, its apparent freedom from formal arrangement gives the School of Athens the appearance of a real scene in which accident has played a happy part; but on closer examination we see that the groups are wonderfully varied and logically combined, that the action of every individual is true to character and singularly appropriate, and that while the coloring is harmonious and vigorous, it is not obtrusive. Like that of autumn woods, which have

> "On sunless days
> A sunshine of their own,"

it has a subdued brilliancy of tone which gives grandeur to the whole. The church of S^{ta} Maria degli Angeli, on some day when crowds of people are moving about the nave, presents a sight like that represented in the School of Athens. Similar sights were often offered to Raphael's observation at Rome, where church ceremonies constantly brought large crowds together under the roof of some great building, whose arches had as wide and majestic a span as those under which

he assembled his Greek philosophers and their followers. The ruins of ancient Rome, such as the Basilica of Constantine or the Baths of Caracalla, filled his mind with images of architectural grandeur suited to his purpose, and while he had these silent models around him, which he could transform into a fitting stage, the Romans themselves furnished him with living models for the actors. The characteristic attitude of his Diogenes was doubtless suggested to him by that of some Beppo of the sixteenth century who lay basking in the sunshine, and the cripple asking alms at the beautiful gate of the Temple is evidently a carefully studied portrait of one of that class of mendicants whose modern representatives whine out their plea for charity before St. Peter's or on the Spanish steps. To select and to combine, to pick out single types and to unite them in one great whole, to measure all by that "certa idea" which he had in his mind, as a gauge of the fitness of each for the setting to which it was destined, was Raphael's occupation while conceiving and working out his frescos at the Vatican.

So complicated a subject as that of the School of Athens (Fig. 12) demanded the aid of scholars and of books, and the perfect adaptation of gestures and bearing to character shows that he used both to advantage. No one ignorant of the general history of Greek philosophy could have planned a work which exhibits its development, its double tendency, and its decline.

Its general scheme may be explained in a few words. Plato and Aristotle, its leaders, occupy the centre of the composition with their disciples. Socrates, who stands to the right of Plato, forms a bond between his school and that of Pythagoras. The Stoics, the Cynics, and the Epicureans move about the steps to the left and in front of Aristotle, and the masters of exact sciences, Archimedes, Ptolemy, and Zoroaster, occupy the foreground. The different tendencies of Plato and Aristotle are indicated by their gestures. While the first points upwards, the second spreads out his hand significantly above the earth. "Plato's relation to the earth," says Goethe, "is that of a superior spirit, whose good pleasure it is to dwell in it for a time. He pene-

trates into its depths more that he may replenish them from the fulness of his own nature than that he may fathom their mysteries.

Fig. 12.

He scales its heights as one yearning after renewed participation in the source of his being. Aristotle stands to the world in the relation of a great architect. Here he is, and here he must work and create. He collects materials from all sides, arranges them, piles them up in layers, and so rises in regular form like a pyramid toward the sky, while Plato seeks the heaven like an obelisk, or, better, like a pointed flame."

As the attitudes of the two great leaders are suited to the nature of the doctrines which they profess, so also are those of their disciples, Speusippus, Menexenus, and Xenocrates, who follow Plato and listen reverently with bowed heads, as befits men whose philosophy is ideal-

istic; while Theophrastus, Eudamus, and Dicæarchus, who are guided by Aristotle, have a more inquiring air, being rather men of action than of reflection, who tend to positivism rather than to idealism. Outside of these quiet groups of listeners are Stoics, Cynics, Sophists, and Sceptics, imperfect disciples of both, restless and inquiring investigators, ill satisfied with their conclusions, having grasped less of truth and wandered farther into error than the genuine Platonists or Aristotelians. One of the most characteristic figures is that of Socrates, the expressive action of whose hands indicates the close reasoner, the subtle exposer of sophistry. He is talking to the splendid Alkibiades, who loved him and whose life he saved, and is listened to by an artisan, one of a class with whom he delighted to converse. Just behind him, leaning on his elbow, is Xenophon of Athens, one of the older disciples of Socrates, who, in his *Cyropædia*, illustrated the Socratic principle that "authority is the prerogative of the intelligent, they alone being qualified to wield it." Æschines, who like Xenophon reverently followed Socrates with the hope of attaining the beautiful and the good (*καλοκἀγαθία*) through intercourse with him, stands behind Alkibiades, stretching out his hand towards the Sophists, Gorgias, Kritias, and Diogenes of Melos, who is running forward as if eager to engage in a discussion. Euclid of Megara, not the mathematician, but the philosopher, who founded a school after the death of his master, in which the ethical and dialectical principles of Socrates were blended with the doctrines of the Eleatics, completes the Socratic group. His attitude is characteristic of his indolent and procrastinating disposition.

Directly below this group is that formed by Pythagoras, his son Telanges, his wife Theano, and his pupil Archytas. The harmonic tablet which Telanges holds at once tells us that he belongs to that school of philosophy which was based upon the science of numbers, a school whose founder, Pythagoras, first used the name of philosophy, taught that everything owes its existence and consistency to harmony, which he considered to be the basis of all beauty,[22] and found music in the

[22] Aristotle defines harmony as the union of uniformity and variety, contrary principles

revolving spheres. The turbaned head seen over the shoulder of Pythagoras is said to be that of Averroes, the initiator of the Arabians into Greek philosophy, whose garbled translation of Aristotle was the only one known in the West until the time of Chrysoloras. Anaxagoras, the master of Pericles, stands between Pythagoras and Heraclitus, for, as he placed the spirit above matter in his system, he forms the bond between them. The latter sits apart, absorbed in thought, clothed in sombre gray, indicative of the obscurity of his principles, which obtained for him the surname of the Obscure. The standing figure of Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, nephew of Julius II., who was at Rome when Raphael was painting the School of Athens, forms the apex of the group, and the child behind Averroes is Federigo Gonzaga, future Duke of Mantua. The stout philosopher, to whom an old man has brought a child that he may judge of his disposition, is Plato's contemporary, Democritus of Abdera, the laugher at the follies of men, who has been called a Pythagorean, though he was really a disciple of Leucippus, the founder of the atomistic theory. The head of Nausiphanes, his scholar, appears above his shoulder.

While the left side of the fresco is thus occupied by the Pythagoreans, the Platonists, and the Sophists, the right is filled by the Aristotelians, Cynics, Stoics, Eclectics, Epicureans, Mathematicians, and Sceptics. Behind the first are the Peripatetics, who found bodily action conducive to thought, and Aristippus, the scholar of Gorgias the Sophist. The figures of Epicurus, a noble and graceful person, ascending the steps with his back turned to Diogenes, who has rolled out of his tub to lie where no man can come between him and the sunshine; of a youth hastily leaving the Hall of Assembly (who typifies the end of the old Greek school); of a young Eclectic writing on his knee, overlooked by Pyrrhus of Elis (who represents the transition from eclecticism to scepticism); and of Archesilaus, the founder of the new Academy,

having a ratio to each other, of which the first produces symmetrical, the second picturesque beauty. Every kind of beauty springs from the predominance of one or the other of these principles.

towards whom one of the later Cynics advances with a staff in his hand, — are varied in action, and eminently characteristic.

The group representing speculative mathematics, in the foreground to the left, of which Pythagoras is the centre, is balanced on the right by that representing practical mathematics, figured by Archimedes (said to be a portrait of Bramante) and his pupils. The great Syracusan master stands, as in Petrarch's *Vision of Fame, col viso basso,* bending over the slate upon which he is working out a problem for the instruction of four lovely youths, three of whom follow his demonstration intently, while the one in the middle with raised hand seems to be listening to Ptolemy the geographer,[23] and to Zoroaster (who represents the Oriental origin of Greek philosophy), as they converse together with globes in their hands.[24] Near them Perugino and Raphael are introduced as spectators.[25]

The *Triumphs* of Petrarch, which were suggestive to Raphael when painting the Parnassus, seem to have served him also for the School of

[23] The crown upon the head of Ptolemy suggests that some confusion existed in Raphael's mind between the geographer and one of the later kings of Egypt.

[24] The Abbé du Bos says that the fifteenth carmen of Sidonius Appolinaris was useful to Raphael in suggesting the grouping of these philosophers.

[25] This portrait of Raphael (aged 27) and that at the Uffizi (aged 23), which he is supposed to have painted at Urbino in 1506 for his uncle Simone Ciarla, are the only unquestionable likenesses of the great artist. The claims of two other portraits to authenticity are, however, not to be disregarded. One of these is a drawing at Oxford in black chalk heightened with white on tinted paper, representing a youth about sixteen years old, with long hair falling on his shoulders, wearing a cap (*berretta*) of the well-known Raphaelesque pattern. This drawing belonged successively to the Wicar, Ottley, Harman, and Woodburn collections. The other is an admirable and rare engraving by Marc Antonio after Raphael (*Bartsch*, No. 496, Vol. XIV. p. 369) of a young man seated on the ground in a meditative attitude, wrapped in a cloak. It has no date.

C. J. Robinson catalogues a portrait-drawing, No. 167, in the Malcolm collection, drawn with the silver point heightened with white, as a possible portrait of Raphael. The engraving which forms the title-page of the French edition of Passavant's *Life of Raphael* is taken from a picture bought at Venice in 1807 by Prince Adam Czartorysky. Passavant refers to it in Vol. II. p. 97, as probably a copy of the lost original which Raphael painted for Francesco Francia in 1508.

Athens, judging by a passage in the *Triumph of Fame* which reads like a description of the central group:—

> "Then turning to the left I Plato saw,
> Who in the troop of great men nearest came
> Unto that goal which those alone by Heaven endowed
> Can hope to reach. And with him Aristotle,
> Familiar with all turns of deepest thought.
> Pythagoras, too, who haply first
> Did call philosophy by worthy name.
> With these were Socrates and Xenophon and Zeno,
> Who did show an open palm and a clenched fist."

It is difficult to set a limit to the study of classic authors which may have helped in the creation of this vast subject, a study not indeed undertaken with that special end in view. The learned men with whom Raphael lived were proud to offer him the fruit of their researches in fields which he had neither the time nor the education to explore.

Not long after Raphael's death doubts were raised as to the real subject of this fresco. Vasari says it represents the union of Theology and Philosophy through Astronomy, and points out St. Matthew in the so-called Pythagoras. Giorgio Mantovano (1550) engraved it with the title of St. Paul disputing with the Stoics and the Epicureans, and another engraver gave halos to Plato and Aristotle in order to identify them as St. Peter and St. Paul, while certain writers have maintained that the two Apostles are here represented as preaching at Athens. Grimm, in his late *Life of Raphael*, discusses this extraordinary theory at length,[26] though to little purpose, but Raphael's adherence to once adopted types — as, for instance, to those of St. Paul and St. Peter, which he borrowed from the frescos of Filippo Lippi at the Carmine — sufficiently refute it. Their features were individualized to him as much as those of Julius and Leo, and we recognize them as portraits, while his Plato and Aristotle are purely imaginary types, for which he could not recur

[26] As neither Rio nor Gruyer, both ardent Romanists, who never lose an opportunity of seizing any allusion to the Church, however recondite, refer to it at all, we may safely dismiss it as a delusion.

to antique busts, though he did so in other cases when it was possible, as the well-known features of Socrates attest. Again, Raphael, who is always true to history in his surroundings, never would have represented Paul as preaching in a Roman temple. He would have put him on the hill of Mars, the Areopagus, as he did in his cartoon. The grand figure of Philosophy, in the medallion which belongs to this fresco, also indicates its subject. Seated on the clouds in a throne-chair, the jambs of which are decorated with the effigy of Diana of Ephesus, who personifies the three kingdoms of nature, she wears a robe with four zones of color which typify the four elements. The blue zone with its stars is the air; the red, fire; the green, with its fishes, water; the brown, with plants, the earth. Her two books treat of nature and of ethics, and upon the tablets borne by her attendant genii are inscribed the words "cognitio causarum."

Religion, Poetry, and Philosophy having been illustrated, one wall of the chamber still remained a blank, intended to be filled with a composition representing Jurisprudence. To treat this subject historically, without in some measure repeating the School of Athens, would have been difficult if not impossible. This reason probably induced Raphael to symbolize it by its attributes, Prudence, Force, and Temperance, whence the fresco is called the Three Virtues, and by two separate historical compositions, one of Justinian giving the pandects to Tiburnianus, and the other of Gregory IX. delivering the decretals to an advocate. The Pope in this latter fresco is Julius II., and the three cardinals are his uncle Antonio del Monte, Giovanni de' Medici, who afterwards became Pope Leo X., and Alexander Farnese, the future Pope Paul III. As the Swiss guards in attendance are also evidently painted from life, the composition really represents a scene at the court of Julius II.

The three Virtues in the lunette over the window are noble and graceful figures identified by attributes and significant gestures. Prudence has two faces, as in mediæval symbolism, — the one, aged, looks back into the Past; the other, young and beautiful, into the mirror of

self-knowledge, which a lovely little genius holds before her. Force wears a helmet and corselet, and has an olive-branch in her hand to indicate that she is a wise Bellona, whose office it is to enforce peace; and Temperance has a bridle, emblematic of moderation and self-control. Justice, their sister, sits apart from them in one of the medallions of the ceiling, with Poetry, Theology, and Science, represented by Astronomy, a celestial maiden whose graceful form is partially veiled by the transparent globe over which she leans to spell out the constellations, to number the stars, and to call them by their names.

In the fourth and last pendentive of the ceiling Raphael painted the Judgment of Solomon (Plate V.), which, as a philosophical judgment based not upon the written law but upon a profound knowledge of human nature, links the School of Athens and the Philosophy with the Jurisprudence. The athletic figure of the executioner with the dead babe lying between his feet and the living child struggling in his grasp; the real mother who at any cost to herself would save him; the infallible judge who, with a significant gesture, pronounces the righteous sentence; the false mother who appeals to him with a coldness which strikingly contrasts with the energetic action of her whom she seeks to defraud, — are here set before us in a beautiful composition of the utmost beauty with the utmost conciseness of pictorial language.

Between the arrival of Raphael at Rome in 1508, and the death of Julius II. in 1513, he had completed all the frescos in the first chamber; the Heliodorus and a part of the Miracle of Bolsena in the second; and had painted the Isaiah (1512), the "Madonna del Foligno" (1511), one of the Orleans Madonnas, and the "Madonna di Casa Tempi," besides making an infinite number of more or less carefully elaborated designs and drawings. Such fertility of invention and rapidity of execution, coupled with transcendent artistic excellence, can hardly be paralleled in the recorded work of any other artist during a similar space of time. It would seem as if, in view of the short span of life allotted to him, Heaven had quadrupled his comparative ratio of possible productiveness, for it was not only during these four years, but during the

whole of his Roman life, that he poured forth an unceasing stream of works at the same rapid rate. For many of his great frescos he gave the design only, committing the execution, in great measure, to his able scholars and assistants, but the easel pictures were for the most part painted by his own hand.

Among these one of the finest, executed during the period under consideration (1508–1512), is the admirable portrait of Julius II., formerly in the church of S. Maria del Popolo at Rome and now in the Pitti gallery, which not only portrays the Pope's outward form, but reveals the indomitable spirit which dwelt within it.[27]

Another portrait of a very different character, that of the Fornarina in the Barberini Palace at Rome, was probably painted about the year 1509. Though admirably drawn, and modelled with peculiar skill, it is hard and dry in tone; the face has but little expression, and is wanting in depth of sentiment, which seems not a little strange if it be the portrait of the baker's daughter whom Raphael loved and to whom he addressed the three love-sonnets which are his sole title to the name of poet. When coupled with the facts that no allusion is made to her in any of Raphael's letters or papers; that the name of Margarita, as her real name, is only known to us by an anonymous manuscript note on the margin of a page of Vasari's *Lives* (ed. of 1568); and that the surname of the "Fornarina" was first heard of in the last century, its character would tempt us to class the so-called mistress of Raphael among the mythic personages of history. The splendid portrait in the Tribune of the Uffizi, also called the Fornarina, and generally attributed to Raphael, would fill our ideal of the baker's daughter[28] far more satisfactorily than that at the Barberini

[27] Burckhardt (*Der Cicerone*, p. 919) and Mündler consider the replica of this portrait in the Tribune of the Uffizi to be an old copy. Passavant (Vol. I. p. 94) declares the picture in the Pitti to be the original.

[28] This portrait, which is probably that of Beatrice of Ferrara, is now believed to be the work of Fra Sebastiano del Piombo, who came to Rome in 1512 at the invitation of Agostino Chigi, the rich Sienese banker, for whom Raphael painted the fresco of the Farnesina at a later date. Mündler, one of the most keen-sighted of modern critics, finds the

Palace, were she less of a great lady and more like the daughters of the Trastevere, ox-eyed as Juno, low-browed and straight-featured as a classic bust.

When we sweep the heavens with a telescope, the especial brilliancy of certain stars arrests the eye, and we pause to observe them, though not unmindful of their countless sisters which sparkle in the wide expanse; so when we enter the picture-gallery of Raphael, the superior beauty of certain works absorbs us, and we pass over others which, if less numerous, would receive equal attention. Even in those selected for study the attempt to analyze detail to any great extent is futile, for its variety is endless. The arrangement of the hair, for instance, in the thousands of female heads drawn and painted by Raphael, though identical in no two, is beautiful in all. Equally varied are draperies and backgrounds, groups of figures and myriads of minor accessories. An exhaustive account of the works of Raphael being impossible, we shall select a few for consideration in each category of subjects.

Among those painted during the reign of Julius II. one of the most famous is the "Madonna del Foligno," which was ordered by the Pope's private secretary, Sigismund Conti, in fulfilment of a vow made to the Madonna, in gratitude for his escape from injury during the siege of Foligno by the papal forces, as also when a thunderbolt fell upon his house. If in looking at this picture we feel that it wants somewhat of that naïve purity and freshness which distinguishes the works of Raphael's Florentine period, we feel that it shows greater mastery over technical details. The forms are rounder, the lines more boldly drawn, the composition more freely treated. The scheme of color is brilliant by force of contrasted reds and greens, like that of Perugino, rather than rich through subtle gradations from deep tones to bright lights,

ennobled traces of the Fornarina in a beautiful portrait at the Pitti of a lady in a white dress (No. 896) which he unhesitatingly attributes to Raphael. See Beiträge zu Burckhardt's *Cicerone*, p. 41.

Passavant (Vol. I. p. 150) thinks that the golden crown upon her hair indicates that this princess was an improvisatrice. The female kneeling in the foreground of the Transfiguration is said to be a portrait of the Fornarina.

like that of the great Venetian masters. In Venetian pictures, as in the flower or the gem, diffused color radiates from some central focus, and passes insensibly from depths to heights, while in those even of the later Umbrians the colors are juxtaposed rather than blended. In them, as in the "Madonna del Foligno" the line triumphs over the tone, and the figures, though united by their concurrence in a simultaneous action, are separate to the eye. Titian would have fused them together by rich harmonies of tone, and thus would have appealed to the sensuous rather than to the intellectual parts of our nature. Sitting before a Venetian picture, we can deliberately set aside its subject, and enjoy its color as we enjoy the perfume of a flower or the flavor of a cordial; but this cannot be done with the works of painters like Raphael, in which form and thought predominate. Drop the subject and its treatment through lines, and little remains to charm us, for these are all important, and the appeal is first to the mind. While then the Assumption of the Virgin by Titian especially enchants the eye, the "Madonna del Foligno" of Raphael addresses itself to the cultivated perception of beauty of form through the gracefully disposed group of the Madonna and Child; to the artistic appreciation of beauty of outline by the bounding lines of the whole composition and by those of its component parts; and, lastly, to the intellectual apprehension of truth to character by such a life-like head as that of the donor kneeling in the foreground, who contemplates the beatific vision.

Raphael's progress in the use of color, which is so noticeable in this and in other pictures of the same period, shows how alive he was to his own shortcomings, and how, when contact with other artists who excelled him in any respect made these visible to him, he straightway labored to bring himself up to a higher level. Thus under the influence of Michelangelo, he aimed at grandeur of style, as in the Sibyls of the "Pace," which we look for vainly in his earlier works. Being of all men best capable of appreciating the great qualities of his rival, he could not see the frescos of the Sistine Chapel without having a new light break in upon him which never would have shone through

the narrow windows of Perugino's studio. Recognizing what separated him from complete excellence, and ever aiming to attain it, he gradually rounded out his being until it attained the figure of a perfect sphere. The marvel was, that being so receptive he could yet remain original. Great men acted upon him as the sunlight and the rain, the moonlight and the dew, act upon goodly ground, causing it to bring forth abundantly. When, therefore, as in his Isaiah at San Agostino, he worked in the spirit of Michelangelo, we may suppose that he did so intentionally. Raphael possessed this Protean power in an eminent degree, while Michelangelo, shut up within himself as in a strongly walled fortress, was wholly wanting in it. His artistic sympathies were dead to works however excellent which were produced by modes of thought different from his own, and even his appreciation of beauty in man was limited to one period of life. Enamored of the adult human form, he lost the perception of those differences which distinguish man at different periods of life, and gave the same muscular forms to the bodies of young and old. Raphael, on the contrary, had a true standard in his mind for each type of beauty. His children are the very essence of childhood, with all its graces and charms, even when as in Him of the San Sisto the tender face is freighted with Divinity. His young men are ideals of manly strength and beauty, his virgins of purity and delicacy, his matrons, like Juno, of nobility and dignity, his old men, like the sages of antiquity, of venerable wisdom. His lyre was fitted with many strings, and he played it like one who was master of all its infinite resources, while that of Michelangelo gave forth but one sublime unvarying strain.

Before Raphael had terminated the frescos in the Camera della Segnatura, he had planned those which were to be painted in the adjoining room, generally known as the Chamber of Heliodorus from the only one of the four terminated before the death of Julius II. Considering himself as the divinely appointed defender of the Church against her enemies whether spiritual or temporal, this Pope desired to be so represented and remembered. Raphael had already illustrated

the overthrow of the first by Divine interposition in the "Disputa," and now he was to symbolize the vindication of the truth of Church doctrines in the Miracle of Bolsena, to show how God chastised the spoiler of her temporal possessions in the Heliodorus, and how he arrested the march of a barbarian who came to plunder the city of his vicegerent in the Attila.

To one ignorant of its intended allusions, the Heliodorus (Fig. 13) simply represents the attempt made by the captain of Seleucus IV. to

FIG. 13.

seize the treasure amassed in the Temple at Jerusalem for the succor of widows and orphans, when, in answer to the prayer of Onias, the Jewish high-priest, a celestial warrior attended by two angelic messengers overthrew the robber and trampled him under his horse's feet. But when we remember that Julius II. claimed to have cleared the patrimony of the Church of French and German invaders and regarded himself as the savior of Italy, that he chastised the Bentivogli of Bologna and the Baglioni of Perugia for revolting against his authority, we see the

Pope typified as priest in Onias, as warrior in the avenging angels, and as the deliverer of his people in the group of terrified Jewish women and children clustered together in the foreground. He also appears in person, borne upon his *sella gestatoria*, whence he calmly overlooks the scene. This glaring anachronism is defensible on artistic grounds, as by the opposition of repose to tumult the effect of agitation is increased within the Temple, an effect which is further carried out by the contrast between the rapt stillness of the high-priest praying at the altar, and the swoop of the angelic messengers which is like that of vultures upon their prey. The focus of interest is the group formed by the archangel with a gryphon-crested helmet, who tramples the plunderer under the feet of his ponderous charger, and two wingless messengers of vengeance, whose wonderful lightness, bird-like swiftness of motion, and grandly impassioned action reveal beings of a nature superior to man, who, moving by a Divine impulse, are as certain to reach their aim as arrows shot from the bow of an unerring marksman. Exaggerated neither in action, limb, nor muscle, they are yet filled with irresistible power, and belong to that highest class of artistic creations, in which effect is produced by hidden causes. The brawny muscles and massive limbs of a giant prepare us for feats of strength; but those of the stripling who overthrows him awe us, for we recognize them as produced by an invisible power against which material force is as naught. The mute terror of those who witness the punishment of Heliodorus proceeds from this cause. They feel that all mortal effort is superfluous, whereas the crowd in the "Incendio del Borgo" is roused to meet and to combat a fully understood peril proceeding from a natural cause.

As in the Heliodorus, the most dramatic of all his works, Raphael had symbolized the triumph of the Church over those who would rob her of her material wealth, so in the Miracle of Bolsena (Fig. 14) he showed her power over those who would loosen her spiritual hold upon the minds of men. Here Heaven again interferes to convince an unbelieving Bohemian priest who had impiously doubted the truth of

transubstantiation while celebrating mass in the church of Santa Christina at Bolsena, by causing blood to flow from the sacred wafer.[29] A

Fig. 14.

thrill of wonder at the miracle runs through the multitude thronging the steps behind the praying Priest, whose disbelief has given way before tangible proof.

The division of the composition into two parts was in some measure necessitated by a large window which pierces the wall surface, leaving an upper space occupied by the altar, on either side of which kneel the Priest and the Pope, and two side spaces filled with their respective followers, — men, women, and children to the left, cardinals, prelates, and attendants to the right. The cardinals are Raphael Riario, cousin to Julius II., and the Cardinal di San Giorgio, Michelangelo's early patron; the prelates and their attendants are also portraits. Idealism and realism have indeed rarely been more strongly contrasted and

[29] The Corpus Domini festival was instituted in 1310 to commemorate this miracle, and the Cathedral at Orvieto, commenced in 1280, was built as a shrine for the sacred wafer.

more justly balanced than in the corresponding parts of a composition, which is admirably balanced, varied in line and attitude, and most harmonious in spirit.

It was not completed when Julius II. ended a life whose ruling idea was expressed in his dying words, "Fuori d' Italia, gli Francesi e gli barbari." His last years had been full of anxiety and disappointment, but before his death the tide had turned in his favor. In 1511 he besieged and took Mirandola, but within a twelvemonth he lost Bologna, and heard with inexpressible anger that his statue had been overthrown and broken up by the Bentivogli on their restoration to power through French aid. To combat Alfonso, Duke of Ferrara, and his powerful supporters, Maximilian, Emperor elect, and Louis XII., King of France, who were arrayed against him with half the Christian world at their backs, and to awe the heretic council which had assembled at Pisa to call him to account for his high-handed acts, Julius formed the Holy Alliance with Ferdinand of Arragon and the Venetians, and by their aid endeavored to restore the Medici, in order to punish Soderini, the Florentine gonfaloniere, for having consented to the assembling of the council. The battle-field of Ravenna was indeed gained by the French; but with the death of their hero, Gaston de Foix, the dissolution of their alliance with Maximilian, and the arrival of the Swiss, they were obliged to stand on the defensive, and the Pope had the consolation of knowing that their departure was only a question of time. The submission of Ravenna, Parma, and Piacenza, and finally of Bologna, which had most of all sinned against him, gave him further causes for rejoicing, and this was greatly augmented by the overthrow of popular government at Florence, and the final restoration of the Medici to power (August, 1512). Among the Italian prisoners taken by the French at Ravenna was the Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, who in his efforts to succor the dying upon the battle-field narrowly escaped with his life, and lost his liberty. He, however, soon regained it, for when the French began their hasty retreat across the Alps he effected his escape and returned to Florence, where he re-

mained until early in the new year, when news came of the death of Julius II. Hastening to Rome, he arrived there on the 6th of March, 1513, and found the papal conclave assembled which, on the 13th, saluted him as Pope under the name of Leo X.

"Olim habuit Cypris sua tempora; tempora Mavors
Olim habuit; nunc sua tempora Pallas habuit."

Or, as another transparency put it, even more pithily, on the night when the city was illuminated in honor of his election, —

"Mars fuit. Pallas est. Cypra semper ero."

CHAPTER VI.

Raphael, 1513–1517.

1.	Portrait of Bindo Altoviti	1513	Pinacothek, Munich.
2.	Portrait of Phædra Inghirami	1513–1514	Pitti Gallery, Florence.
3.	Portrait of Julius II	1512–1513	Pitti Gallery, Florence.
4.	Portrait of Cardinal Bibbiena	1513–1514	Royal Gallery, Madrid.
5.	Raphael and his Master at Arms (so called)		Louvre, Paris.
	(N. B. Probably by Sebastiano del Piombo.)		
6.	Portrait of Count Castiglione	1515	Louvre, Paris.
7.	Portrait of a young man leaning on his elbow	1517	Louvre, Paris.
8.	Portrait of a lady in a Florentine dress. No. 229	?[1]	Pitti Palace, Florence.
9.	Portrait of Johanna of Aragon	1517	Louvre, Paris.
10.	Galatea. Fresco	1514	Farnesina, Rome.
11.	St. Cecilia	1516	Pinacothek, Bologna.
12.	The Madonna della Seggiola	1516–1517	Pitti Palace, Florence.
13.	The Madonna della Tenda	1516–1517	Pinacothek, Munich.
	(N. B. Repetition in the Royal Gallery at Turin.)		
14.	The Perla	1517–1518	Royal Gallery, Madrid.
15.	The Visitation	1517	Royal Gallery, Madrid.
16.	The Spasimo de Sicilia	1518	Royal Gallery, Madrid.
17.	The small Holy Family	1517–1518	Royal Gallery, Madrid.
18.	The Violin Player	?	Sciarra Palace, Rome.
19.	Prophets and Sibyls. Fresco	1514–1519	Santa Maria della Pace, Rome.
20.	The Madonna of the Candelabra	?	Formerly in the gallery of Mr. Munroe, London.
21.	The Cartoons	1515–1516	S. Kensington Museum, London.
22.	The Martyrdom of St. Cecilia. Fresco		Villa Magliana, Rome.
23.	The Liberation of St. Peter. Fresco	1516	Vatican, Rome.

Michelangelo, 1516–1521.

1.	Façade of San Lorenzo (never finished)	1516–1520	Florence.
2.	Statue of Christ	1518–1521	S. Maria sopra Minerva, Rome.
3.	Medici Chapel. First designs	1519–1520	San Lorenzo, Florence.

[1] This picture, one of the gems of the Pitti Gallery, is marked "Anonimo" in the Catalogue, but Passavant and Otto Mündler (see *Beiträge zu Burckhardt's Cicerone*, p. 41) declare it to be an undoubted Raphael. Mündler recognizes the same head in the Magdalen of the St. Cecilia picture at Bologna, and in the Madonna of the San Sisto. He thinks it may be the ennobled type of the real Fornarina.

CHAPTER VI.

"Ma ben tempo è mirar che se raccolti
Son i costumi in lei degni di loda,
Degni di biasmo ancor ve ne son molti." — ARIOSTO.

HE elevation of Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici to the papacy dispelled all fears lest the splendid projects initiated by his predecessor might be nipped in the bud, and was hailed with delight by artists and men of letters. He had long lived a life of elegant ease in his palace on the Piazza Navona, which, like that of his grandfather Lorenzo the Magnificent at Florence, was the resort of scholars, painters, sculptors, poets, and musicians, who found in their host a man capable of discussing the special subject of each. Splendid in his tastes, lavish in his expenditure, and quick to discern those qualities in others which would render them apt instruments for carrying out his purposes, Leo X. was admirably qualified to make Rome attractive to the wise, the accomplished, and the pleasure-loving, and to be himself the centre of a court where wit, learning, and revelry combined to make life a perpetual feast. Sadoleto and Bembo, distinguished Latin scholars, were his secretaries; Lascaris, renowned for his knowledge of Greek, presided over a college in which young men were taught both Latin and Greek, and directed the printing of many rare classic authors; while the learned scholars Inghirami and Beraldus the younger had care of the Vatican Library. All looked up to Leo

as a leader and an adept, and each could have written like Erasmus, "I must drink the waters of Lethe ere I forget Rome. What agreeable liberty, what rich libraries, what learned savants, what hospitable inhabitants! Where else are such literary reunions to be met with, where is such a galaxy of eminent men to be found, where are such antique monuments to be seen?"

As a secular prince Leo has had few equals. In his style of living, his tastes, his accomplishments, and his amusements he was a worthy scion of the Medici, but like other rulers of his race he was not troubled with a very tender conscience. His idea of his duty towards his subjects was summed up in the obligation to dazzle them by the splendor of his court, to amuse them with shows and pageants, to make Rome beautiful, and to exercise a munificent patronage of arts and letters. Content with this, the Romans troubled themselves very little about his shortcomings as Head of the Church, and were neither scandalized by the license nor shocked by the extravagance which he not only permitted but encouraged.[1] They did not see the writing on the wall

[1] Among the "documents" published by the Marchese Campori from the archives at Modena, there is a letter written by Pauluzzi, the minister of the Duke of Ferrara at Rome, to his master, March 8, 1518, which gives an idea of the manners of the time, and the sort of amusements in which Leo and his courtiers, clerical and lay, alike indulged. The letter relates in part to the representation of a comedy entitled the *Suppositi*, whose subject was as scandalous as that of the *Calandra*, a play often represented before the Pope and his "young and most reverend Cardinals, which," says the Marquis, "would not, on account of its obscenity, be tolerated upon any European stage at the present day." The scenery painted by Raphael "was very beautiful," forming a superb *coup d'œil*. The prologue spoken by the Nuncio threw the Pope and his attendants into fits of laughter; but, adds Pauluzzi, "the French were not a little scandalized by the subject of the comedy." The day before its representation was signalized by races between two troops of Spanish horses, one led by a Monsignore dressed in Moorish costume, and the other by Serapico, the Pope's chamberlain, in Spanish garb. The next day was marked by a bull-fight, in which three men were killed and five horses wounded. In the evening a comedy written by a monk was performed, and as it failed to please, the Pope amused himself by causing the unfortunate author to be tossed in a blanket up to the ceiling, after which he was set on horseback and whipped with such violence "that he had to be leeched and put to bed. It is said," adds Pauluzzi, "that the Pope

which foretold dire consequences. Julius had aggrandized the temporal power of the Church, while Leo undermined its spiritual power by that wholesale traffic in indulgences throughout Catholic Europe which so weakened her hold upon the minds of men, that the trumpet blasts of the Reformer, like those of Joshua before Jericho, were able to overthrow her strong defences and detach half the Christian world from its allegiance. Thus he prepared the way for the material humiliation of Rome by Charles V. Burdened with an enormous debt, much of which had been contracted in feasts, shows, and buffooneries, his subjects were left at his death in no condition to resist their enemies, to whom they fell an easy prey. All who would understand the character of Leo X. and the contrasts which it presents to that of his predecessor, should compare his portrait painted by Raphael in 1518 with that which he painted of Julius II. about nine years earlier. The large head, purple-hued complexion, protruding eyes, double chin, and generally amiable though somewhat stolid expression of Leo indicate the refined voluptuary; while the thin features, the sallow complexion, the nervous, excitable expression of Julius, tell of a restless spirit, ever ready for precipitate action. Both are admirable for their truth to character, their technical treatment, and their color; but that of Leo is the most important, because the picture also contains portraits of his successor, then Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, and of his nephew the Cardinal de' Rossi. Hanging in the Pitti gallery, this picture holds a foremost place amid masterpieces of its kind of every school. The portraits of Titian and Giorgione may surpass it in color, those of Holbein in minute rendering of detail, and those of Rubens in freedom of touch; but as combining fine color, admirable drawing, truth to character, and high finish, it ranks above them all.

That the court of such a pope as Leo X. could be no fit place for

thus punished the monk in order to make an example of him, so as to frighten those of his brethren who might hereafter be inclined to exhibit their monkish inventions." The stories told about Querno, Baraballo, and other buffoons of the court of Leo, are equally extravagant and absurd. See Roscoe's *Life of Leo X.*, Guigneri's *Histoire de la Littérature Italienne*, and Sismondi's *Italian Republics.*

Michelangelo will be evident to those who understand his character. While Raphael led a life of immense activity, and achieved brilliant success during his Pontificate, the stern Florentine lived for the most part at a distance from Rome, engaged in fruitless labor, under skies now bright with hope, now gloomy with despair. By the death of Julius and the accession of Leo, Raphael had exchanged one kind and admiring patron for another; but these events were of far greater consequence to Michelangelo, who having lost a friend found no new one to take his place. He had but one hope to console him for a greater grief than any which he had felt since the death of Lorenzo de' Medici, and this was that he would now be allowed to complete the monument which the late Pope's superstitious fears had caused him to abandon. This hope was indeed authorized by the provision made in the will of Julius, that it should be finished on a somewhat reduced scale, and confirmed to an apparent certainty by the signing of a new contract with his executors. The payments made by them to Michelangelo during the next two years[2] show that no opposition was made to the prosecution of this work until Leo X. visited Florence in 1514, and, seeing the unfinished condition of the church of San Lorenzo in which the chapel of the Medici was situated, conceived the idea of doing honor to his race by completing it. He accordingly solicited designs for the façade of the church from Baccio d' Agnolo, Giuliano da Sangallo, Andrea and Jacopo Sansovino, Raphael, and Michelangelo, the most distinguished architects of the day. Why the latter, who was no practical architect, did not decline to compete if he really wished to be left undisturbed, we cannot understand, for he must have foreseen that if his design was accepted he would be called upon to carry it out. We cannot, therefore, pity him for the embarrassing position in which he found himself when this happened. He had lately signed a second contract with the executors, which bound him not to undertake any work of importance until he had completed

[2] Through Bernardo Bini he received 6,100 ducats on account in 1514 and 1515. See Appendix to Gotti, op. cit. No. 8.

that which he had on hand for them, and was at Carrara when the Pope recalled him to Rome, forced him to accept the commission, and then sent him back to the quarries to procure the necessary materials for the façade.[3] In this occupation nearly three years of his life were wasted, years imbittered by pecuniary embarrassment, uncongenial toil, and those ceaseless annoyances which made the Tragedy of the Façade only second to the Tragedy of the Sepulchre.

They were spent in tedious journeys to and from the mountains of Carrara, and in building a road to the quarries of Seravezza, hitherto approachable only by footpaths.[4] The ground was both marshy and rocky, and a long time elapsed before it could be made solid and smooth enough to admit of the transportation of marbles to the sea-shore. Long before this happened the Pope's ardor had begun to cool, and his supplies of money to decrease in proportion. The weight of tedious labor, the heartsickness of exile, the impatient fretting of a proud and haughty will against a power which it could not resist, would have shaken and unnerved a less resolute spirit and crippled its powers completely. But Michelangelo was strong enough to bide his time. He had long ago learned that his destiny was to struggle and to be temporarily overcome, and though defeated could yet hope for ultimate victory. He believed that he had been sent to Carrara to get him out of the way, and although he was well received when he went to Rome for a few weeks in the autumn of 1517 to present a model of the façade to the Pope, this belief was in no wise shaken.

At the end of February he was again sent back to the mountains, nor was it till another twelvemonth had elapsed that he was liberated by the final abandonment of the enterprise. The fruit of all his toil and anxiety was certainly not sufficient to console him. Only six col-

[3] Leo obliged the executors to consent to his wishes, promising them, however, that Michelangelo should do what he could for them when not otherwise employed.

[4] As the Marchese Malespina, Lord of Massa and Carrara, derived a considerable portion of his income from the quarries at Carrara, he looked with a jealous eye upon the attempt to make those of Seravezza accessible. Obstacles were thrown in Michelangelo's way, and the hostility of the Carrarese workmen was excited against him.

umns had been extracted from the quarries, four of which were never carried farther than the sea-shore. One still lies at La Vincarella amid a mass of chips and blocks of Seravezza marble, and one may be seen at Florence at the base of the bare brick-wall which it and its fellows were to have rendered beautiful, forming a silent but impressive memento of the wasted years of one of the greatest among men of genius.

"Ah me! ah me! when thinking of the years,
The wasted years, alas, I do not find
Among them all one day that was my own!
Fallacious hopes, desires of the unknown,
Lamenting, loving, burning, and in tears
(For human passions all have stirred my mind),
Have held me, now I feel and know, confined
Both from the true and good still far away.
I perish day by day;
The sunshine fails, the shadows grow more dreary,
And I am near to fall, infirm and weary."[5]

In the following letter, written from Florence in 1520 to Sebastiano del Piombo,[6] Michelangelo gives a complete account of his transactions with the Pope, and of his work at Seravezza: "In 1516, while I was at Carrara occupied in getting marbles to be sent to Rome for the monument of Pope Julius, Pope Leo sent for me to confer about the façade of San Lorenzo, which he wished to erect at Florence. Accordingly, on the 5th of December I left Carrara for Rome, and there made a design for the façade for which Pope Leo directed me to have marbles quarried at Carrara. After my return there from Rome, in the latter part of December, he sent me a thousand ducats by Jacopo Salviati and his servant Bentivoglio. I received this sum of money on the 8th of January, and gave a receipt for it. In the following August, the Pope having requested me to make a model of the façade, I went

[5] This hitherto unpublished translation of one of Michelangelo's canzone, as revised by Michelangelo the younger, which is as literal as it is beautiful, was made by H. W. Longfellow in 1874, and is here printed by his kind permission.

[6] Milanesi, Letter CCCLXXIV. p. 414.

to Florence for the purpose, constructed it of wood with figures of wax, and sent it to him at Rome. As soon as he had seen it, he sent for me, and I obeyed, and agreed to build the façade after this model, as is proved by the contract drawn up with his Holiness;[7] and as I was obliged, in order to serve his Holiness, to send the marbles for the monument of Pope Julius to Florence, and after they had been sculptured to send them to Rome, he promised to pay the freight and transport, an expense of about eight hundred ducats, though this is not mentioned in the contract. On the 6th of February, 1517, I returned from Rome to Florence, and having taken upon myself the whole charge of the façade of San Lorenzo, for which, according to the contract, Pope Leo was to pay me four thousand ducats in Florence on account, about the 28th of the month I received eight hundred ducats from Jacopo Salviati, gave a receipt for them, and went to Carrara. As the contracts and stipulations previously made there for marbles for this work were not observed, and the Carrarese persecuted me about them, I went to quarry marbles at Seravezza, a mountain of Pietrasanta, near the Florentine boundaries, and there having caused six columns to be roughed out, together with many other marbles, and having constructed the road to the quarries which still exists, after which nothing more was excavated, I, on the 20th of March, 1518, went to Florence to obtain money to carry on the work, and there, on the 26th of March, 1519, the Cardinal de' Medici paid me five hundred ducats by the bankers Gaddi at Florence, for which I gave a receipt. At the same time the Cardinal, by order of the Pope, told me not to go on with the work, because he said that they wished to save me from the trouble of transporting the marbles by giving them to me at Florence. For this a new contract was to be made; and there the matter has rested up to the present time.

"At this time, having sent a number of marble-cutters to Pietrasanta, or rather to Seravezza, to occupy the road and take away the marbles

[7] Contract dated June 19, 1518, by which Michelangelo bound himself to complete the work in eight years for the sum of 40,000 gold ducats.

quarried for the façade, and for the pavement of the Cathedral of Florence, and the Cardinal de' Medici having given the commission for the façade marbles to others than to me, and without considering my claims, having authorized those whom he employed to make use of my road, I felt myself very much aggrieved, because neither the Cardinal nor the directors of the Cathedral works had any right to interfere in my affairs without my consent and that of the Pope. If I had previously agreed with him to abandon the façade, after settling all accounts as to expenses and moneys paid to me, the said road and the marbles and the tools would have become his or my property, and we should have had the right to dispose of them as we saw fit. The Cardinal now requires me to give in a statement of my accounts, saying that he wishes to bring the matter to a conclusion, and obtain possession of such marbles as he may wish to take from the above-mentioned road at Seravezza. I have therefore shown that I have received twenty-three hundred ducats as herein specified, and that I have also spent eight hundred, about two hundred and fifty of which I paid for the transportation of marbles to this city for the monument to Pope Julius; this makes a total expenditure of more than five hundred ducats. I say nothing about the wooden model for the façade which I sent to Rome, nor of the three years which I have lost in this affair; nor of the fact that I have ruined myself by it; nor of the great disgrace which I have incurred by having the commission taken back after it had been given to me, and I know not what else. Nor do I mention the leaving of my house at Rome, which has suffered during my absence, and entailed upon me a loss of more than five hundred ducats for marbles and tools and work prepared. Not counting all these things, there remains to me only five of the twenty-three hundred ducats. Now we have agreed that the Pope shall take the road and the marbles already quarried, and I with my fifty ducats am to be free. I believe that his Holiness will not object to sign a brief to this effect. As you are now put in possession of the facts in the case, I beg you to make a copy of the said brief, to so specify the

sums received by me that no further account may ever be asked, and also to make the agreement that the Pope shall take the above-mentioned road, marbles, and tools, as an equivalent for all claims."

The letter here quoted may be taken as a fair sample of Michelangelo's letters. *Ex uno disce omnes.* Records of work, of money details, of personal grievances, are all that they contain. It would be difficult to find a passage in the four hundred and ninety-five letters printed by Milanesi, indicative of that deep and poetic nature which shows itself in his sonnets, his sculptures, and his frescos. Letter-writing with him was absolutely restricted to affairs of business or charity. His genius spent itself in artistic utterance, leaving neither strength nor will to speak to his correspondents upon any other subject than that which immediately concerned them and him. Valuable as they are as sources of information concerning dates, and as giving indications of character and of feelings of a more or less transitory kind, they stand among the letters of great men as showing less of the higher nature of the writer than perhaps any other ever written.

From time to time, during his exile at Carrara, Michelangelo had visited Florence and had employed himself with long intermissions upon the monument to Pope Julius. To this he returned when he was finally freed from his engagement to Leo, nor would he suffer himself to be enticed back to Rome, although certain inducements were held out to him which seem to show that the reigning pontiff was not as hostile to him as he believed him to be. Thus, after the death of Raphael he was invited, through his friend Sebastiano del Piombo, to paint the Hall of the Pontiffs at the Vatican. As Raphael had left drawings or cartoons for the mural decorations of this hall, his scholars, Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni, laid claim to the commission, and it is just to suppose that Michelangelo's refusal to interfere was at least partially prompted by a loyal respect for the memory of the great painter, whose wishes, could they have been expressed, would have undoubtedly been that his designs should be carried out by his scholars. Other reasons against the acceptance of the offer are not difficult to

conjecture, such as that he wished to complete the monument, and that painting was not an art to which his nature inclined him. At this time he was working upon a statue of Christ which he had long before commenced for his friend Metello Vari. After he had brought the marble to an advanced stage of completion he sent it to Rome under the care of one of his workmen, Pietro Urbano, whom he charged to finish it according to his design. But Pietro had the vanity to suppose that he could improve his master's work, and after doing much mischief was dismissed in disgrace. "He has spoiled everything," writes Sebastiano del Piombo to Michelangelo, "especially the feet and hands, — so at least says Federigo Frizzi, a Florentine sculptor of repute, in whose judgment I have greater confidence than in my own, as I do not pretend to understand how to work marble. As for the beard, my studio boy would have known better how to do it; indeed, it looks as if a blunt knife had been used in the operation. I have put it into Frizzi's hands, and he will do his best to finish it satisfactorily."[8] In October of this same year the statue was set up in the church of S^ta^ Maria sopra Minerva, where it still stands. Evidently the sculptor was not himself when he conceived it, for of all his works it is the most insipid. "He was at this time," says Condivi, "in a despondent frame of mind, unable to apply himself to anything, or, when so doing, working without enthusiasm." Suddenly a hope dawned in his mind that an object worthy to call forth his best powers would be set before him. A petition was about to be sent by the Florentine Academy to the Pope, urging that the bones of Dante should be brought back to Florence, and among the eminent names appended to it he thus wrote his own: "I, the sculptor Michelangelo, ask the same of your Holiness,

[8] This letter is dated September 6, 1521. The statue was begun at Rome in 1514 at the request of Bernardo Cenci, Canon of St. Peter's, Maestro Mario Scuppiani, and Metello Vari, but the block of marble proving unsatisfactory it was abandoned. In 1521 Michelangelo again blocked out the figure and worked upon it between the months of April and August. (See Wilson, op. cit. pp. 200, 264.) The name of the workman employed by Michelangelo to finish it is incorrectly given by this writer as Pietro d' Urbino. Gotti (Vol. I. p. 140) calls him Pietro Urbano, as does Vasari.

offering myself to make a worthy monument for the Divine Poet, and to give it an honorable place in this city."[9] To this petition and to this offer Leo paid no attention, and the project was left to be carried out in our own day by the sons of a united Italy.

In the autumn of 1519 the Pope determined to build a family chapel in the church of San Lorenzo, where monuments to the most distinguished members of his house should be placed. The Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, then Governor of Florence, and afterwards Pope Clement VII., was instructed to ask Michelangelo to make designs for the chapel. These were sent to Rome in 1520, and are referred to in a letter from the Cardinal with expressions of satisfaction, but preparations to carry them out were hardly begun when they were temporarily suspended on account of the death of Leo X.

The contrast which Michelangelo's life at Carrara and Florence during the Pontificate thus closed affords to that of Raphael at Rome is most striking. The year after Leo's accession the latter thus wrote to his uncle Simone Ciarla at Urbino, "I have three thousand gold ducats' worth of property at Rome, and a revenue of fifty ducats a year. Besides this, his Holiness has made me overseer of the works at St. Peter's with a salary of three hundred gold ducats for life. But this is not all; people pay me what I choose to ask for my pictures, and I shall receive twelve hundred gold ducats for the frescos which I am now painting at the Vatican. Thus, dear uncle, I do honor to you as well as to my other relations and my country. I carry you always in my heart, and your name sounds like that of a father in my ears. To quit Rome now that I fill Bramante's place would be impossible, and what place in the world is nobler than Rome, or what enterprise greater than that of building St. Peter's Church, which is the first temple in the world and will be the grandest edifice ever seen? I return to the subject of my marriage,[10] in order to tell you that Cardinal Bibbiena

[9] Gotti, op. cit. Vol. II. p. 84.

[10] Simone Ciarla had proposed to marry Raphael to one of his own countrywomen, with the hope of inducing him to return to Urbino, a project to which Raphael refers in the

has offered me the hand of his niece Maria, and that I have consented to accept it provided you and my uncle the priest give your approval."[11]

It is clear, from the manner in which Raphael alludes to this proposed matrimonial alliance, that his affections were not at all engaged. He could not very well have refused a proposition so honorable, and doubtless hoped to find some timely loophole for escape, when he accepted it; but the reason given by Vasari, that he was reluctant to marry because he hoped that the Pope would recompense him for his still unpaid work at the Vatican, by making him a Cardinal, is too absurdly out of character to be believed, even if it were not shown by records of the time that Leo X. was not in his debt. So far as we know, artistic genius has never been so acknowledged, nor do we remember any case in which the elevation of an artist to ecclesiastical rank was proposed, save that of Fra Angelico, who was both a monk and a saint. Although, for the time in which he lived, Raphael was a person of well-conducted life, he made no pretension to exceptional devoutness or austerity. These qualities were not, indeed, *de rigueur* among church dignitaries at Rome during "the golden age," and would not have been considered as special titles to preferment; but we imagine that there were other things wanting to Raphael, such as family influence and ecclesiastical ambition, which would have prevented the Pope from even considering his eligibility. That he himself urged it, it is impossible to believe. He had in fact but one ambition, namely, to excel in his art. He was not a person of deep feeling like Michelangelo, liable to be diverted from his work by noble objects of another kind. So little was he affected by the struggles and catastrophes of his time, and so unbroken was his serenity in the midst of the most tragic events, that he has been taxed with insensibility.

beginning of this letter, saying that he is very glad that it has come to naught, as had it been carried out he would never have held his present position.

[11] It is hardly necessary to mention that the marriage never took place. The Cardinal's niece was an invalid at the time, and died before Raphael.

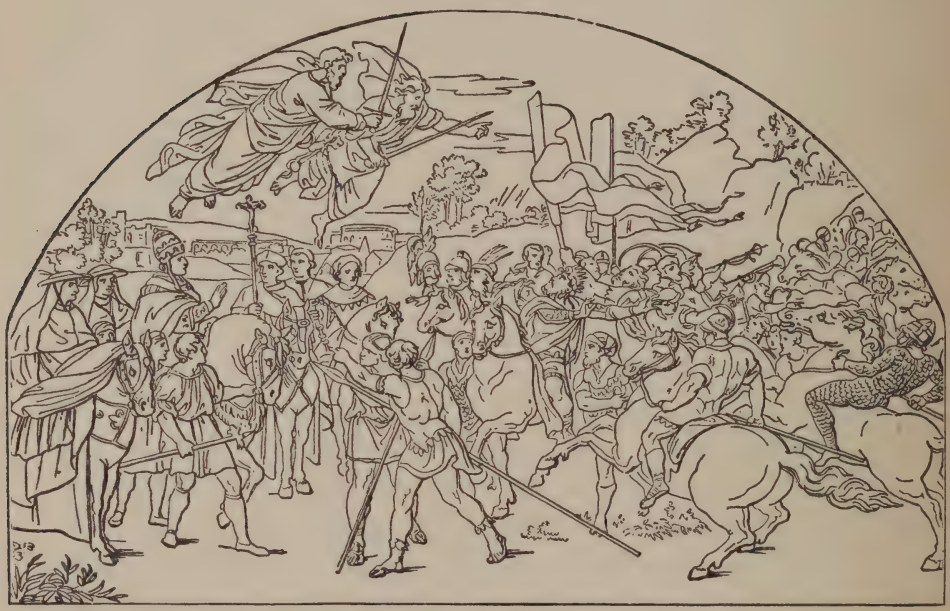
"Do his impassive Madonnas know," writes the eloquent Michelet,[12] "what Cæsar Borgia has made their living sisters suffer at Forli and Capua? Can these philosophers of the School of Athens reason and calculate while Brescia is delivered over to the horrors of war? Are the ears of Psyche deaf to the frightful cries of the Milanese, tortured by those Spaniards who will be at Rome to-morrow?" This is impassioned, but unjust. Raphael was no humanitarian like Michelangelo, though he was the kindliest of human creatures, affectionate to his relatives, full of consideration for his pupils, to whom he endeared himself in no common degree, and ready to aid the poor and suffering who came in his way. Did he not take the poor and aged savant, Fabius Calvius, into his own house, and care for him with a filial tenderness, although the old man's only claim upon him was that which the destitute have upon all kind hearts? "He is," writes his contemporary, Calcagnini, "a young man of great goodness, and possessed of an admirable intelligence, eminent for his rare gifts, the first of painters in theory and in practice. Nevertheless, he has so little pride that he meets every one as a friend, and shuns no man's criticism. No person likes better than he to discuss opinions, to be instructed as well as to instruct, considering as he does that the great end of life is to obtain knowledge."

Appreciating the advantages which he enjoyed at Rome, and straining every nerve to make the most of them, Raphael was able to accomplish an amount of work which in quantity as in quality far surpasses what the most extravagant belief in his capacity would have authorized. Soon after the accession of Leo X. he began to paint the fresco of Attila (Fig. 15) in the chamber of the Vatican where he had already painted the Heliodorus and the Miracle of Bolsena. The subject was doubly pleasing to Leo, as representing the king of the Huns arrested before the walls of Rome by the miraculous intervention of St. Peter and St. Paul, in answer to the prayer of his patron saint, Leo the Great; and as symbolizing the expulsion of the French from

[12] Michelet, *Histoire de la Renaissance*, p. 389.

Italy, in which he had played his part on the battle-field of Ravenna, when Cardinal Legate.

Fig. 15.



Wearing the features of Leo X., Leo I. tranquilly advances with his cortége under the protection of the Apostles, to meet the barbarians and their chief, who, struck with terror at the vision which he alone sees, shrinks before it with a gesture of terror. In vain do his followers sound their trumpets, wave their banners, and urge forward their wild steeds, whose advance is checked by a barrier against which they break their strength like waves beating upon a rock-bound coast. Meantime the papal group moves steadily forward, as if it had left the gates of Rome on some holiday errand, and thus forms the most striking opposition to the agitated Huns, who swarm about their awe-stricken monarch like a flock of bees just issuing from the hive. The Attila is perhaps the least pleasing of the Vatican frescos, on account of the multiplicity of local tints, which, not being controlled by the predominance of a general hue, give it a disinte-

grated effect. Its vivid yellows and reds strike the eye separately, and produce a consequent want of repose. As it is the only one of the four in this chamber which represents a scene in the open air, its brighter scale of color is, however, perfectly in keeping with its subject, and it may be that its present want of harmony is the effect of time.

The Liberation of St. Peter from Prison (Fig. 16), Raphael's next

FIG. 16.

great work at the Vatican, has suffered even more than the Attila from this cause. The cold shining of the moon, the ruddy flash of the torch, and the soft golden splendor of the aureole are so far quenched that we can form but little idea of its original beauty, and but faintly appreciate the skill with which the painter managed these varied effects of light. The attempt to deal with chiaroscuro upon so monumental a scale was a daring novelty, not again attempted until Rembrandt painted the Night Watch at Amsterdam, where, however, the sources of light are less numerous. As Raphael divided his composition into three parts, each of which he made the scene of an episode, it was

much easier for him to separate the effects of light than if he had treated them in one unbroken wall space. In that directly over the window he painted the Apostle sleeping in his cell, behind the iron bars, which stand out darkly against the miraculous light emanating from his angel visitor. To the left he represented the same celestial messenger standing with the liberated Apostle at the top of a flight of steps, upon which lie two soldiers whose slumber is unbroken by the angelic radiance which shines upon their armor with striking effect; and to the right the guards sleeping upon the stairway outside the prison, who, roused by a soldier with a torch in his hand and informed of their prisoner's escape, hastily make ready to follow him to Jerusalem, whose walls and towers are seen in the background illuminated by the moon. The solemn and unearthly beauty of the angel, the passive dignity of the Apostle, the varied and expressive attitudes of the soldiers, and the skilful distribution of light proceeding from different sources, are all features of this admirable work which in turn impress those who study it. To make one great picture out of three progressive incidents in the same story would now be regarded as a violation of the law of unity, though it is authorized by Masaccio in the frescos of the Carmine, by Ghiberti in the panels of the second gate of the Baptistery, by Michelangelo at the Sistine, as by Raphael at the Vatican; but the case is one where approval waits upon success. If this be attained, as here, through consummate skill, we may well drop our scruples and enjoy the result. To discuss its legitimacy would be as futile as to revive the time-worn argument against painting as inferior to sculpture because it deceives the eye. But we are not disposed to do this, or to quarrel with those who charm us so deeply, or dispute their right to treat as many episodes as they please in one picture, or to deal with color and form after their own magical fashion. We love them too much for that, and as every-day life gives us enough of things which can be tested by touch, we may well rejoice that the eye can so readily be cheated into accepting the lovely fictions of the painter with no other sense than that of enjoyment.

As Raphael had decorated the ceiling of the first chamber with paintings whose subjects were intended to epitomize those of the large frescos, so did he that of the second which we have just described. In the Burning Bush above the Heliodorus, he alluded to the deliverance of the States of the Church by Julius II., who was appointed to free the Italians, as was Moses the children of Israel, from bondage. In the Sacrifice of Abraham he gave an example of faith leading to unquestioning obedience, and in the Miracle of Bolsena of unbelief subdued by undeniable evidence. In the Noah leaving the Ark, which saved man and beast from perishing in the flood, he symbolized the Church, whose power, wielded by Julius, as in the Attila, repelled the barbarians and saved civilization. Finally, in the Jacob's Ladder he alluded to the Pope's hope that as Jacob's seed inherited the land of Canaan, so should the Medici become masters of a united Italy. We who study these frescos for their beauty care little for such secondary meanings, which the Pope and his court considered of great importance. We see them and admire them as scriptural illustrations of a thoroughly biblical character, and forget the artist in his work. This we can never do in the Sistine Chapel. The frescos of Michelangelo are like Dante's great poem, which cannot be appreciated without an intimate knowledge of the poet. The key to them is what he did and felt and suffered, so that the better we know the history of his life the better we are able to understand works whose spirit is personal, subjective, or, in other words, essentially modern. As a rule, his frescos, statues, and poems are susceptible of two interpretations, one of which invariably refers to the artist. The Jeremiah, for instance, not only represents the prophet mourning over the future ruin of Jerusalem, but the artist brooding in sadness over the evil destinies of his country and the thwarted purposes of his life, so that, were it carved in marble, it might fitly crown his monument.

The work of Raphael, on the contrary, like that of Shakespeare, was little affected by his personal circumstances, and therefore does not demand for its appreciation so intimate a knowledge of his life and

character. Its spirit is impersonal, objective, antique, in short. It is not a record in form and color of his own struggles and hopes and deceptions, but an expression of his idea of the beautiful. Thus his pictures have an independent existence, like bubbles bright with prismatic hues which float into the air when detached from their source. On this account the record of Raphael's life is vastly less interesting than that of Michelangelo, whose every pen or pencil stroke is connected with himself and his times. Obeying an irresistible impulse, he from time to time took part in public events from which Raphael stood aloof, living solely in and for his art.

While working upon the frescos in the Heliodorus chamber he commenced and completed many other works. Among these is that loveliest of his altar-pieces, the "Madonna del Pesce," painted for a chapel in the church of St. Dominick at Naples, to which, as being the resort of persons afflicted with ophthalmia, the subject of Tobias was admirably adapted. In his treatment of this touching story, which gained a deeper significance by its association with suffering, the infant Christ, who seems so eager to grant the prayer of the graceful and modest suppliant, the beautiful angel who has been his guide, the noble Madonna, and the aged St. Jerome, are each perfect types of life at successive ages. This masterpiece of composition, expression, and color is another proof of Raphael's inexhaustible resources in dealing with a subject of which he seems never to have grown weary. Although his Madonnas and Holy Families are more in number than the years of his life, each has a peculiar beauty of its own. The Virgin and Child with St. John and attendant saints are to him what the notes in the musical scale are to a musician, materials by whose combination he creates infinitely varied melodies, now grave, now gay, now graceful or sublime. In the "Seggiola" and the "Tenda" (Plate VI.) the Divine infant nestles in his mother's arms like a bird in its nest; in the "Cardellino" and the "Belle Jardinière" he plays like a child with the infant John; in the "Pesce" he listens graciously to prayer; in the "Palma" he accepts the flowers gathered for him by St. Joseph;

in the "Vela" he sleeps under the watchful eyes of his mother; in the "San Sisto" he is awake and as it were transfigured by a Divine spirit which irradiates his brow, beams from his eyes, and like a light set in a vase of alabaster, shines through his human form. It is by comparing these pictures, identical in subject but differing so widely in individuality and character of charm, that we get the best idea of the richness of Raphael's fancy. When we tell every bead of the rich chaplet, beginning with the Connestabile Madonna, and ending with the "San Sisto," which combines in itself all the graces and ideal beauties of the whole series, we find that though every one was fashioned by the same hand and with the same material, there is neither repetition nor sign of exhaustion. Such fertility of invention within a narrow circle is shown in the works of no other painter of any country or time. Beyond it he revealed hitherto unsuspected powers which, when awakened through contact with the antique at Rome, first gave signs of life in the Parnassus and the School of Athens under a papal protector. They were now to find a still greater opportunity for their development under a secular patron, noted alike for his munificence, his love of arts and letters, and the protection which he extended to all who were distinguished in either. This was Agostino Chigi, a Sienese banker of immense wealth, the Rothschild of Alexander VI., Julius II.,[13] and Leo X., whose name will not pass out of remembrance so long as the frescos of the Farnesina, the Sibyls of Santa Maria della Pace, and the mosaics at Santa Maria del Popolo exist.[14]

The Farnesina[15] palace, built by this merchant prince, stands on the

[13] This pope showed his gratitude to Agostino Chigi for lending him large sums of money at critical moments, by conceding important privileges to him, and by giving him and his brother Sigismund the right of bearing the arms and name of Della Rovere.

[14] In 1510 Raphael designed two bronze salvers for Agostino Chigi, and the receipt for payment given by Cæsarino di Francesco, a goldsmith from Perugia settled at Rome, who made them, is the earliest proof which we have of any relations between the painter and the great banker. — *Histoire des plus célèbres Amateurs Italiens*, par M. I. Dumesnil, p. 97.

[15] From the Farnese family, into whose possession it passed at the end of the sixteenth century.

right bank of the Tiber, directly opposite the Farnese palace, with which Michelangelo at one time proposed to connect it by throwing a bridge over the river. Beautiful as a piece of architecture, surrounded by spacious gardens, and decorated with frescos by several of the greatest artists of the sixteenth century, it had few rivals even in Rome, when Agostino Chigi made it the scene of banquets whose luxurious splendor recalled those of Lucullus under the Empire. These were doubtless given in the great portico or "loggia" where Baldassar Peruzzi, who built it, and Sebastiano del Piombo, whom Agostino Chigi brought from Venice to decorate it, painted mythological subjects in fresco, and Raphael with his pupils represented the fable of Psyche, the Triumph of Cupid, and the Council of the Gods. Beyond this "loggia" lies a gallery of equal length, whose walls are divided into compartments, in one of which Raphael painted his justly celebrated Triumph of Galatea. As Philostratus described[16] the lovely maiden sailing across the sea in a shell drawn by dolphins, surrounded by nymphs and tritons, holding her purple robe above her head to catch the zephyr and to shield herself from the sun's rays, so Raphael painted her, with such slight changes as suited his purpose. Standing in an attitude of consummate grace, with her mantle fluttering in the wind, she holds the reins loosely in her hands, leaving the guidance of her dolphin steeds to a lovely "amorino" who lies like a sunbeam upon the water before the shell which bears her. His fellows, with arrows fitted to their bowstrings, circle in the air like swallows on the wing, and a crowd of burly tritons, sounding their conch-shells, and bearing nymphs in their strong arms, splash through the blue waves in all the pride of exuberant life.

There was a time when those who saw the Galatea could praise it for its coloring as well as for its composition; but we who know it in its faded state see only that it is as classical in spirit as the frescos of the Loggie are biblical, and admire the versatility of a genius which could enter into and identify itself with thoughts so widely separated.

[16] *Imagines*, Lib. II. Ch. XVIII. p. 381. Ed. Didot.

The following passage from a letter written by Raphael to his friend Count Castiglione[17] shows the modest and self-depreciating spirit with which he received the praises which were his due. "Could I believe half the fine things which you say to me about my Galatea, I should think myself a great painter. I am forced, however, to recognize that they are chiefly dictated by your friendly sentiments, and I feel obliged to say, that to paint one beautiful woman I must see many models, and have you at my side to point out the special beauties of each. In default of good judges and good models, I follow a certain ideal (*una certa idea*) which I have in my mind, and though I cannot certify that my work is full of an elevated artistic sentiment, I do my best that it shall be."

The reader conversant with the Platonic definition of ideal beauty as "an aggregate of selected beauties," who knows that Apelles, taking no single maiden as a model for his Venus Anadyomene, made up from many virgins an ideal more beautiful than any one, will recognize that Raphael here worked in a spirit consonant with Greek canons of art. Like Philostratus, he felt that Imagination is a greater artist than Imitation, for while Imitation can only represent that which she has seen, Imagination can represent that which she has not seen, by figuring it to herself on the basis of the real."[18]

The date of the completion of the Galatea is approximatively fixed in Raphael's letter to Castiglione, by his reference to his late appointment as head architect to the Pope, but although he did not design

[17] Passavant, op. cit. Vol. I. p. 502.

[18] The whole passage is worth quoting in the original text. Apollonius when in Egypt talks with a certain Nilus upon the different way in which the Egyptians and the Greeks represented their gods in art. To his objections urged against that of the first as unseemly, Nilus answers by asking, Did Phidias and Praxiteles ascend to Olympus and bring back models of the gods to be used in making their statues, or in what other way did they set about their work? Not so, answers Apollonius, but by another means full of ingenuity. And this, says Nilus, must have been by imitation. φαντασία "ἔφη (Apollonius) ταῦτ' εἰργάσατο, σοφωτέρα μιμήσεως δημιουργός. μίμησις μὲν γὰρ δημιουργήσει, ὃ εἶδεν, φαντασία δὲ καὶ ὃ μὴ εἶδεν· ἀποθήσεται γὰρ αὐτὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀναφορὰν τοῦ ὄντος." — Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius*, Lib. VI. Ch. XIX.

the other frescos at the Farnesina until four years later, he probably accepted the commission for them at this same time. Pressed with work, he was obliged for the most part to intrust their execution to his pupils, Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni. The hand of the master shows itself, however, in the female figure sitting with her back to the spectator in the compartment where Cupid presents Psyche to the Graces, in the vigorous, noble, and graceful figure of the flying Mercury, and in the masterly group of Jupiter and Ganymede. The two last especially may be pointed out as the most perfect examples of modern work in the antique spirit. They remind us of designs cut upon the surface of ancient gems, being in themselves complete, compact, noble and unexaggerated in style, and grand in feeling. Both were engraved by Marc Antonio Raimondi, to whom the world is indebted for the reproduction of so many of Raphael's frescos and drawings in the very spirit of the originals, with a purity of style and delicacy of feeling which have never been surpassed.

This celebrated engraver, who identified himself so closely with Raphael after he came to Rome at the solicitation of Giulio Romano, was born at Bologna, in the same year as Michelangelo, and at an early age was apprenticed to the renowned goldsmith, niellist, medallist, and painter, Francesco Raibolini, commonly called Francia. Craving a deeper insight into the art of engraving than he could obtain from the works of his own countrymen, he studied the works of Schongauer, Lucas van Leyden, and Albert Dürer, which, having found their way across the Alps, were highly appreciated in Italy as showing a skill in the use of the graver to which neither Baldini, Robetta, Pollajuolo, nor any other Italian engraver had yet attained. Marc Antonio may possibly have met Albert Dürer during his visit to Italy in 1507, and by personal contact have strengthened his predilection for the manner of the great Nuremberger, but his early engraving of Pyramus and Thisbe shows that he had come under his influence long before he made those copperplate repetitions of Dürer's woodcuts of the Life of the Virgin, about which he complained to the Signory of Venice as interfering

with the sale of the originals. Up to 1510, Marc Antonio's style was eclectic, Italo-German; but in that year he went to Rome, where he devoted himself exclusively to the task of engraving the works of Raphael, in an original style founded on the excellences of the northern and southern schools. The group from Michelangelo's cartoon of the Battle of Pisa, which he probably engraved soon after his arrival at Rome, if not before he left Florence,[19] although executed in his Roman manner, gives proof of his acquaintance with German masters, for the background is a repetition of that in Lucas van Leyden's print of the monk Sergius killed by Mahomet,[20] save that a big tree and a stump are omitted in the Italian engraving, and four Tuscan soldiers are substituted for the four peasants of the German. Admitting that Marc Antonio worked from a drawing made by Raphael from Michelangelo's cartoon, there can be no reasonable doubt that it was simply a group of figures, and that Marc Antonio, being unable to compose a background for them, utilized Lucas van Leyden's.[21] Such a course naturally suggested itself to one who had by long habits of eclecticism become insensible to the antagonisms of German and Italian art, and who, though deservedly ranked as the first of Italian engravers for his technical skill, had little or no inventive genius. It was precisely because he had few ideas of his own, that he was so excellent an interpreter of those of others. His manner of working was changing and uncertain until he knew Raphael, to whom he gave his allegiance and henceforward adopted a style wonderfully suited to the reproduction of that master's works.

Like the earlier Italian engravers, Marc Antonio generally worked from drawings, and was therefore not tempted, like the engravers of the seventeenth century who worked from pictures, to attempt peculiar combinations of lines in order to render effects of color. His method

[19] It is dated 1510.

[20] Engraved in 1508.

[21] The real background of Michelangelo's cartoon is probably that engraved in Agostino Veneziano's group of five soldiers, A. D. 1523, at least five years after the original had been destroyed.

was as perfectly suited to the interpretation of a Raphael, whose highest beauties were those of form and expression, as the methods of Vorsterman, Pontius, and Bolswert afterwards were to that of a Rubens, whose greatest excellence, color, could only be translated into black and white by rendering relative values or the effect of tints.[22]

In many cases the engravings of Marc Antonio and his scholars were made from sketches in pen and ink, sometimes from mere outlines, or at best from drawings in which the draperies and accessories were indicated only by absolutely essential lines,[23] but this was not always the case, for the drawings of the Massacre of the Innocents in the private collection of the King of Saxony, and many others in the Archduke Charles's collection at Vienna and the Royal Collection at Windsor, which they engraved, are very highly finished. If the drawing was slight, the master was at hand to advise and to explain his intention. It is impossible to suppose that without such help even Marc Antonio

[22] "Considering colors as more or less luminous, more or less dark, they engraved a yellow drapery with lighter and wider spaced strokes than a blue drapery, so that the latter should form a darker mass than the former in the engraving. With all such attempt Marc Antonio had nothing to do. To him," says Ch. Blanc, "engraving is a concise translation of the essential, a process which knows how to indicate everything, to say everything, and which, deprived of the language of color, insists upon the supreme beauty of outlines, accentuates the character of heads, selected forms, the force or the delicacy of joints and extremities. His facile graver turns with the muscles, and by its movements indicates the bones, the depressions and swellings of flesh, while by reserving broad lights upon his plate he obtains simple and powerful effect. He is *par excellence* an engraver of style, — style in engraving being the pre-eminence of drawing over color, and of beauty of form over richness of detail. Albert Dürer had shown how every variety of matter could be imitated by variety of work; Lucas of Leyden, how effects of aerial perspective could be produced by diminishing the strength and power of the strokes of the graver according to the relative distance of objects from the eye; Marc Antonio came to show how suppleness of the hand in the management of the "burin" could avail to interpret the subtler indications of the master's spirit as manifested in his drawings; and the pupils of Rubens finally inaugurated the modern system of engraving, which aims at giving the effect of a picture, that is its coloring by light, an idea which never entered into the heads of the engravers of Marc Antonio's school." — *Grammaire des Arts du Dessin*, Ch. Blanc, pp. 661 and 666.

[23] Passavant, Vol. VI. p. 6.

could have so identified himself with Raphael, as to be able to fill in outlines often made up of repeated and ever-varying pen-strokes, crossing and recrossing each other as the artist approached nearer and nearer to his ideal. His unequalled "burin" has preserved for us many of Raphael's designs which would otherwise have been lost, such as the Dido, the Dead Christ, and the Lucretia, which, though it was the first of his Roman engravings, was not surpassed in purity of line, in firmness and delicacy of contour, and in subtlety of modelling by Marc Antonio during the ten years which he devoted exclusively to the master service.[24] It was followed by the Judgment of Paris, which astonished everybody, — "ne stupi tutta Roma," says Vasari. The engraver's fame was noised abroad, and his studio was soon filled with troops of scholars, Italian, German, and Flemish. Men like Beham, Binck, and Pencz abandoned Albert Dürer, and crossed the Alps to study under the man who had himself learned so much from their old master.[25] Probably no engraver ever enjoyed a greater measure of success until Raphael's death, when his fortunes deservedly changed. He was imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo for having engraved a series of licentious designs after Giulio Romano, and eventually liberated through the intervention of the Cardinal de' Medici, and of his friend Baccio Bandinelli the sculptor. A few years later, when Rome was besieged by the Constable Bourbon, he fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who reduced him to a state of poverty by the heavy ransom which they exacted from him. He then returned to Bologna, where he died about 1534.

The influence of Michelangelo upon Raphael is nowhere so perceptible as in the Sibyls and Prophets of the Chigi Chapel at "S^ta^ Maria della Pace"; but, though they are conceived in a grandiose spirit, which may properly be called Michelangelesque, they are none the less

[24] The impressions were taken off the plates by one Baviera, who had long done service in Raphael's studio as a color-grinder. They were sold "wholesale and retail" to all who wished to buy them, and there is no doubt that a large sum of money was thus realized.

[25] Marc Antonio's best Italian scholars were Agostino Veneziano and Marco Denti da Ravenna.

Raphaelesque, for while they are the best examples of the way in which genius develops under all noble influences, they are still individual.

In a conversation between Julius II. and Sebastiano del Piombo,[26] the Pope is reported to have said, "Look at Raphael, who, when he saw the works of Michelangelo, suddenly abandoned the style of Perugino, and as far as he was able approached them in manner." This remark has perhaps led many to consider that the influence of Michelangelo upon Raphael was far greater than we think it was. In making it the Pope referred to works executed at Florence and Rome during his Pontificate, but the former, as we have seen, show the effect produced upon him by the works of Lionardo da Vinci and of Fra Bartolomeo, while the latter, with the exception of the Isaiah at San Agostino, which we suppose to have been an intentional imitation, cannot be called Michelangelesque. Raphael's style continually grew broader and nobler, but it was always strictly controlled by that distinguishing love of purity in line and form which kept him from excess or extravagance. Even the Sibyls at S^ta^ Maria della Pace remind us of Michelangelo only by their peculiar character, but they are not imitations like the works of Marco Venusti, Pontormo, and Montorsoli. The genius of Raphael was nourished by study of nature and of the antique, and by observation of the works of the greatest of his contemporaries; and yet he neither imitated nature slavishly like Denner, nor copied the antique elegantly like Canova, nor made himself the slave of any one master like Pinturicchio. He was too original and too great for that, but at the same time he was so receptive and so eager to take advantage of every means of improvement, that he opened his mind to all good influences, and assimilated that part of them which was suited to nourish his spirit. Between the Sibyls of the Chigi Chapel and those of the Sistine there is an affinity proceeding from identity of subject, but in the conception there is this characteristic difference, that although both are busied with the coming of Christ, the first work out the momentous problem in company, while the last

[26] Letter to Michelangelo, dated October 15, 1512. See Gaye's *Carteggio*, Vol. II. p. 489.

seek singly for its solution.[27] Again, the feeling is different, for while the first are more strictly beautiful, the last are specially lyric and impassioned, and as the higher nature of these semi-divine beings is expressed by different means, the resemblance between them, where it can be detected, is purely superficial.

Raphael's individuality as sculptor and architect[28] is no less marked than as painter. We say as sculptor, because we believe that he modelled the Jonah of the Chigi Chapel[29] at S^ta^ Maria del Popolo. It is too Raphaelesque in its grace to have been designed by Lorenzo Lotto, by whom it was put into marble,[30] and though we have but slight proof[31] that Raphael knew how to model in clay, we may believe that he did so on the general ground that in his time all great artists were acquainted not only with their special art, but also with all those with which it might be associated. In their eyes art was a unit. Painters fully appreciated how important a knowledge of modelling would be to them in dealing with shadows, in treating effects

[27] The Prophets, Daniel, David, Jonah, and Hosea, were painted by Timoteo Viti after the cartoons prepared by Raphael; but the Sibyls, the Cumæan, Persian, Phrygian, Tiburtine, as well as the Angels and Genii, were in all probability painted by the master's hand.

[28] As poet he is hardly to be considered, for, as the Greek proverb hath it, "*μία γὰρ χελιδὼν ἔαρ οὐ ποιεῖ*" (*Nicomothean Ethics of Aristotle*, Lib. I. Ch. VIII.). Hence our common saying, "One swallow does not make a summer." Raphael's poems consist of three love-sonnets in no wise remarkable.

[29] The Chigi Chapel at S^ta^ Maria del Popolo was designed by Raphael, as were also the nine mosaics representing the Creator, the celestial globe, the sun and moon, and the five planets. These mosaics were executed by a Venetian named Luigi de' Pace in 1516.

[30] This artist probably modelled the companion statue of Elias in the Chigi Chapel, and executed the group called the Madonna del Sasso, which is placed over the tomb of Raphael at the Parthenon. Judging from these works, his powers were not such as are shown by the sculptor of the Jonah, who can have been none other than Raphael himself.

[31] The only proof, indeed, is that furnished by a letter written by Count Castiglione to his intendant at Rome, on the 8th of May, 1525, in which he inquires "whether Giulio Romano still possesses the young child in marble sculptured by Raphael." This is identified with the figure of a dead child lying on the back of a dolphin, now at Down Hill in Ireland.

of aerial perspective, and in leading them to comprehend the springs of action. They were aware that he who had modelled a figure in the round before representing it upon a flat surface was likely to give it a more natural air, to make it appear to move with greater ease and dignity upon the canvas, than he who had studied only that side of it which was turned towards the spectator. The interdependence of the arts which obliged the painter to know something of architecture, that he might be able to represent buildings in his backgrounds correctly, compelled the architect to study the laws of light and shade which more especially concern the painter, so that when designing a building he might know how to mass its parts in a way to produce effective and picturesque shadows. In the same way the sculptor had to make himself familiar to some extent with architecture, for he was constantly called upon to enrich the plane surfaces of buildings with bas-reliefs, and to design statues to be placed about porticos, in pediments, or above cornices. Lastly, the goldsmith, who made cups and platters adorned with statuettes, bas-reliefs, architectural details, and enamels, needed to understand the three arts of sculpture, architecture, and painting, as he had to practise them on a reduced scale, and this general knowledge of the arts of design fitted him pre-eminently for the position of a teacher. Nine tenths of the artists of the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth centuries began their education in the goldsmith's workshop, and what they learned there was of the greatest advantage to them in whatever branch they afterwards adopted as a profession. Raphael was an exception to the rule, but he obtained a deep insight into other arts than his own by being constantly brought into contact with artists of all kinds.

Of architecture he made a special study. Long before he came to Rome he had paid attention to it, at least as a draughtsman, and at the age of twenty his knowledge of it was deeper, and his taste far more refined than that of Perugino, as any one may see by comparing the temple in the background of his Marriage of the Virgin with that from which he copied it, in his master's picture of the same subject,

now at Caen. After his arrival at Rome, three years later, he pursued his architectural studies under Bramante, and by this means, as well as by his measurements and drawings of ancient buildings, acquired a thorough knowledge of the art. The classical character of the buildings which he designed at Rome and Florence prove him to have been a true child of the Renaissance, and their excellence entitles him to an honorable place among Italian architects. Only a small portion of the basement of the palace which he built for himself at Rome in the Borgo Nuovo remains, but we know, through an engraving of the time, that the façade was Doric above a rustic base, and that the basement storey was pierced with five arched doorways, to which as many windows with balconies and triangular pediments corresponded in the first storey. These windows were separated from each other by Doric columns in groups of two, and the whole façade was crowned with a classic entablature in a severe style. Its principal details are distinctive of Raphael's architecture. In the "Casa" Berti and the "Palazzo" Vidoni at Rome, as in the Pandolfini and the Uguccioni palaces at Florence, we find a like alternation of circular and triangular pediments over the windows, as well as balconies, coupled columns, and bold cornices. Having for the most part studied ancient Roman edifices, it is not surprising that Raphael did not scruple to superpose different orders in the same façade; as, for example, in that of the Casa Uguccioni at Florence, which has Ionic columns in the first storey and Corinthian in the second, and, had it ever been finished, would have been crowned by a Corinthian entablature.

The architectural manner of Raphael is distinguished from that of Bramante by a greater boldness of projection in the details of doors and windows, and of the entablatures, cornices, and balconies. By these means he aimed at producing picturesque shadows, but although he thus showed his painter's nature, he never allowed his inclination for the picturesque to interfere with that just feeling for harmonious form and fine proportion which make his buildings worthy to be classed among the most perfect of the sixteenth century.

In the winter of 1515–16, Raphael was summoned to meet the Pope at Florence, in order to compete with other distinguished architects for the façade of San Lorenzo. The Pope's wish was that those whom he had invited should agree together upon a plan, but Michelangelo, who was among them, would have no yoke-fellows, and his design, still preserved in the "Casa" Buonarroti, was finally accepted, though never executed.[32] The façade is treated as a field for the display of statues and bas-reliefs rather than as a model of fine architectural form and proportions. Instead of using sculpture as a decoration when he coupled it with architecture, Michelangelo always used architecture as a background to sculpture; witness the Medici Chapel, the tomb of Julius at San Pietro in Vincoli, and other examples which might be mentioned. As he tells us in one of his letters, he was never so truly himself as when he had a chisel in his hand; and this is so true that even when he took up the compasses or the brush he showed how completely he was a sculptor by nature. The use of that most detestable of all architectural details, the broken pediment, is frequent with him; an error in taste which it is hard to pardon. When he does not offend by such eccentricities, he is generally cold and uninteresting as an architect. Except the dome of St. Peter's, which has no rival save that of the Cathedral at Florence, none of his architectural works entitle him to rank with his great Florentine predecessors, while all contain the seeds of that decadence in form and style which marred the works of his successors.

In a late treatise upon him as an architect, written by a professional brother[33] who has proved his knowledge of the science by works which, though in questionable taste, give evidence of great constructive skill, we read that though he has "the stroke, the force, the breadth, the will, the personality, which make the great composer, Michelangelo

[32] Raphael's design, a simple sketch, in the Albertina collection at Vienna, is less grand than that of Michelangelo, but more harmonious in the relation of its parts.

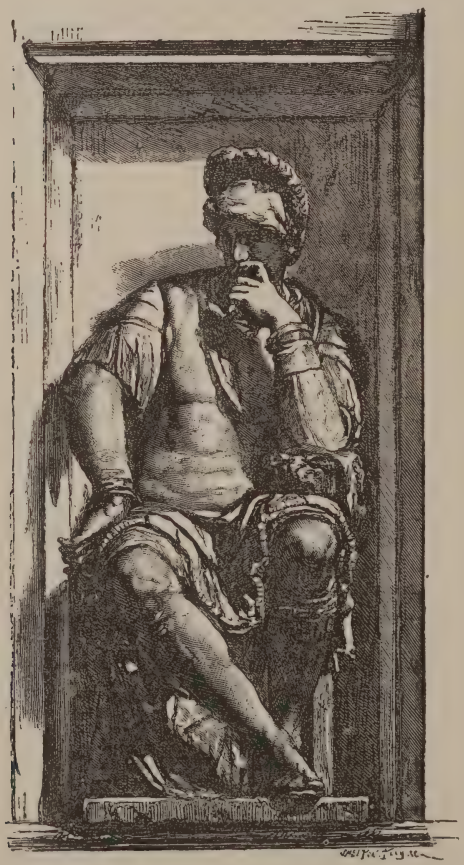
[33] *Michel Ange, Architect*, par Ch. Garnier. *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, January 1, 1876, pp. 192–194.

is ignorant of the language of architecture, does not know its grammar, and can hardly write. Having conceived the leading lines of his design, it would seem as if he had written upon his drawing, Here place a cornice, there a capital. This being done, the result is more or less satisfactory, according to the capacity of the workman employed to carry it out." We leave the question as to whether M. Garnier's criticisms are too severe, to be discussed by practical architects, but with the exception of the Dome of St. Peter's, which his French critic acknowledges to be a *coup de génie*, "one of the marvels of art," his architectural works seem to us false in taste and wanting in vital interest.[34] His architectural sketches show us by their inaccuracies that he drew them like any pictorial composition, without any attempt at measurement. He said himself that he was no architect, as he said he was no painter; but in the first case he spoke the truth, while in the second, as the event proved, he had no just estimate of his wonderful power. To be a great draughtsman and a master in composition is to be two thirds a painter; and when, as in Michelangelo's case, color is also used harmoniously if not with any especial charm, the right to that name is indisputable: but to have a right to be called an architect, though all the knowledge demanded by Vitruvius in his famous definition may not be needed, does at least require an intimate acquaintance with line and rule, a laborious accuracy which no amount of genius can supply, and which early training alone can give. Those who study Michelangelo's design for the Laurentian Library, for instance, will be satisfied that M. Garnier is right when he says that he who made it was not an "architect, properly speaking. He did indeed do an architect's work, which is very different, and most frequently in the manner of a painter or a sculptor, which may have color, breadth, and imagination, but which bespeaks insufficient study and an incomplete education. The thought may be great and strong, but the realization of it is always feeble and naïve." This being

[34] Michelangelo was not heard of as an architect until 1515, when he was forty years old.

admitted for truth's sake, it does not follow that one of the four crowns which Michelangelo's contemporaries awarded him is undeserved. "Gare qui la touche!" for it belongs to him by right of genius, as do those of sculpture, painting, and poetry. With special truth, though in a sense not intended by the poet, was it said of him who "rounded Peter's Dome,"

"He builded better than he knew."



CHAPTER VII.

Raphael, 1516–1520.

The "Incendio del Borgo." Fresco	1516–1517	Vatican, Rome.
Portrait of Leo X.	1518	Pitti Palace, Florence.
(Copy by Andrea del Sarto in the Naples Museum.)		
The Holy Family, called, of Francis I.	1518	Louvre, Paris.
The Archangel St. Michael	1518	Louvre, Paris.
St. Margaret	1518	Louvre, Paris.
The Madonna di San Sisto	1519	Dresden Gallery.
St. John the Baptist	?	Louvre, Paris.
The forty-eight Frescos of the Loggie	1516–1519	Vatican, Rome.
Frescos in the Salle des Bains of Cardinal Bibbiena	1519	Vatican, Rome.
The Transfiguration	1520	Vatican, Rome.

CHAPTER VII.

"How shall I then begin or where conclude
To draw a fame so truly circular?
For in a round what order can be shewed
Where all the parts so equal perfect are?" — DRYDEN.

SINCE, besides the art of painting, in which all men acknowledge your excellence, you were considered by Bramante to be so skilled in architecture that he, when dying, spoke of you as worthy to succeed him as head architect of St. Peter's Church, we . . . . do hereby appoint you to that office with a salary of three hundred golden scudi a year." The brief addressed by Leo X. to Raphael on the 1st of August, A. D. 1514, of which these are the opening words, was issued at a time when he was already so overwhelmed with commissions and burthened with responsibilities, that he might well have shrunk from accepting a charge so onerous; but apart from the fact that the offer was tantamount to a command, it was too honorable to be refused, and he not only took it, but retained it for the remainder of his life with all its obligations of superintending the carrying out of accepted plans, and suggesting advisable departures from them.

His work at St. Peter's, which will be spoken of in a later chapter in connection with that of Bramante, Michelangelo, and their successors, was begun in the year when he painted the Galatea, the "Madonna

del Pesce," the Vision of Ezekiel, and an altar-piece typifying the triumph of celestial over terrestrial music, for the Duglioli Chapel in the church of "San Giovanni in Monte" at Bologna.[1] In this picture the patron saint of the divine art is represented as a young and beautiful woman, listening with a rapt expression to a choir of angels in a glory of light above her head. They are

> "Pouring forth music like the scent of fruit,
> And stirring all the incense-laden air,"

while St. Cecilia stands amid broken instruments of music, with a small organ in her hands, having on her right and left the nobly draped and grandly conceived figures of Saints Paul, John, Augustine, and the Magdalen,[2] patron saints of the donatrix, a noble Bolognese lady named Elena Duglioli dall' Olio,[3] who had been commanded in a dream to build and endow the chapel.

Raphael sent this beautiful picture to Bologna in 1517, with a letter to his friend Francesco Francia, asking him to repair any injuries which it might have received during its journey from Rome, and to retouch it in those parts which he considered defective. The general admiration which it excited when it was put in its place over the altar had hardly spent itself, when it was again roused by the Vision of Ezekiel,[4] a picture painted for Count Ercolani of Bologna, which, though but of cabinet size, seems of vast dimensions, so colossal is its spirit. Floating

[1] It was carried off by the French in 1796, and when restored to Bologna was placed in the Pinacotheca.

[2] In the art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries certain holy persons were thus grouped together in altar-pieces, either because they were objects of special devotion to the donor or donatrix, or because one or more of them bore his or her name. Thus, for example, Saints Raphael and Jerome were perhaps introduced in the "Pesce" at the request of the donor, named Raphael Jerome. See Quatremère de Quincy, *Vie de Raphael.*

[3] The Beata Elena Duglioli, wife of Benedetto dall' Olio, was canonized by Pope Clement VII. The years of her birth (1483) and death (1520) are identical with those of Raphael. The Cappella Duglioli, after the extinction of the family, passed to the Bentivogli, who were connected with it by marriage. See Gualandi's *Memorie*, etc., 1st Series, p. 51.

[4] Now at the Pitti Palace.

in space with his arms extended and sustained by angels, with a brightness round about him "as the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain,"[5] the Creator (whose Jove-like character betrays a classic influence which in all other instances Raphael carefully shunned when treating Biblical types) sits enthroned upon the mystic symbols of the Evangelists.

As in this small masterpiece Raphael equalled Michelangelo in grandeur of style, so in his next great work, the fresco of the "Incendio del Borgo" (Fig. 17) at the Vatican, did he rival him in the

FIG. 17.

L'Incendio del Borgo

treatment of the nude. In many of Michelangelo's works the display of the naked human form is purely arbitrary. Tempted by the delight which he felt in treating what he best understood, he often took occasion to display his knowledge of anatomy where it was not demanded by the nature of the subject. Raphael, on the contrary, never introduced

[5] Ezekiel, Ch. I. v. 28.

undraped figures into his compositions unless their presence was fully justified, as in this case, where the victims of a conflagration fly from their beds in an unclothed or half-clothed state. The Borgo, a quarter of Rome near the Vatican, had been saved from complete destruction in the eighth century by the prayers of Pope Leo IV., and it was to perpetuate this tradition, and to commemorate a similar disaster in the same quarter of the city during the reign of Leo X., that Raphael represented the Pope interceding with Heaven for the lives and property of his subjects from the window of a palace in the background. The scene is laid in a city square surrounded by houses out of which the terrified inmates escape as best they may. Some hurry to extinguish the flames, some address themselves to the task of saving those who are too young or too infirm to save themselves, and others are paralyzed with fear. A new pious Æneas, followed by another Ascanius, carries another aged Anchises on his back to a place of safety; a woman from the top of a high wall confides an infant in swaddling-clothes to the upstretched arms of a young man who stands on tiptoe to reach the precious burthen; while a naked man grasping the top of the same wall hangs against it as he drops to the ground, showing all the muscles of his body in extreme tension. As the boy, the youth, the full-grown man, and the aged father represent the male nude figure at four different periods of life, so do the infant, the young woman, the mother, and the aged matron illustrate four periods of woman's life, and thus every variety of human existence is depicted. The most striking figure in the composition is that of a young woman hurriedly descending a flight of steps to the right, with a jar of water on her head and another in her hand. The wind blowing violently from behind has loosened her hair, and as it drives the folds of her dress close against her limbs, fully displays the grand lines of her figure. Turning her earnest face towards a group of terror-stricken women kneeling in the foreground, she seems to cry, "God helps those who help themselves; this is a time for action, not for prayer."

In dramatic power the "Incendio" is surpassed by the Heliodorus,

but it surpasses it in the greater variety of emotion displayed by the actors in the drama. Agitation pervades both, but in the Heliodorus it proceeds from a supernatural cause which all feel to be irresistible, whereas in the "Incendio" it is excited by a material enemy, whose presence, as it calls forth the active resistance of some and causes helpless despair in others, produces strong contrasts in the expression of a common sentiment of alarm which are taken advantage of to give variety to the composition. Raphael's work in the Vatican chambers ended here; for although he designed the other frescos in this same room, as well as those in the Hall of Constantine, they were executed after his death by his pupils, whose weakness when deprived of his guidance is manifest. The Justification of Leo III. and the Coronation of Charlemagne are mural decorations, which show how wide is the gulf that separates talent from genius, but taken with the four circular pictures by Perugino in the ceiling, and the "Incendio" by Raphael, they have an historical value as representing the decline of a school of which the first illustrate the source and the second the culmination.

Knowing as we do that while Raphael lived he was constantly assisted by his scholars in all his great works to an extent which, judging from the immense number of commissions which he accepted and nominally executed during his Roman period, must have been even greater than is generally supposed, it is interesting to compare their work under his eye with that which they did when it was no longer upon them; but the first is not always easy to identify. Many pictures pass as Raphael's which were for the most part painted by his pupils. After he had drawn a composition on wall or canvas, Giulio Romano perhaps sketched it in colors and left it for Raphael to complete. Copies were then made of it, which he retouched, and these eventually passed as his work.[6] His letter to Francia about a portrait of himself which he had promised to paint for him clearly indicates that this was the or-

[6] "For though some meaner artist's skill were shown
In mingling colors or in placing light,
Yet still the fair designment was his own." — DRYDEN.

dinary practice. "I have as yet," he says, "been too much occupied to paint it myself, as I promised to do. I might have had it painted by one of my pupils, and then have retouched it, but this *under the circumstances* would not have been right." It is hardly necessary to say that the above remarks apply only to pictures painted after Raphael left Florence, for up to and including the Borghese Entombment he can have had no such assistance, for the simple reason that he had no pupils under him. When the great works which he had on hand after he came to Rome rendered his need of assistance pressing, he received many young artists of talent into his studio, and the skill which they acquired in the work confided to them made them every year more and more competent to carry out his ideas up to that point beyond which none but the mind which had conceived them could advance. No argument is needed to convince us that such a picture as the Sistine Madonna is the work of Raphael from first to last. Its improvised character, its wondrous beauty, and its absolute unity of thought, feeling, and execution preclude any other supposition; and for the reason that division of labor in portraiture is less possible than in any other branch of art, we may also believe that he only painted upon such portraits as those of Leo X., Julius II., Inghirami, and Castiglione.

On the other hand we cannot doubt that in many of Raphael's most celebrated easel pictures, frescos, altar-pieces, and cartoons, he was greatly assisted by Giulio Romano, Francesco Penni (Il Fattore), Giovanni da Udine, and Polidoro Caldara (da Caravaggio), all of whom could be safely intrusted with a great deal of preparatory and even advanced work. The generally reddish hue of the "Spasimo di Sicilia" at Madrid,[7] for instance, suggests the collaboration of Giulio Romano,

[7] Painted for the nuns of the convent "dello Spasimo" (at Palermo), whence it derives its name, this masterpiece of composition, drawing, and expression has a peculiar interest owing to its almost miraculous recovery from destruction. The ship in which it was embarked for Sicily having been wrecked off the Italian coast went to pieces upon the rocks, and the box containing the picture floated upon the waves as far as the coast of Genoa,

but no other hand than that of his master could have painted the face of Christ, in which exalted dignity and complete resignation to physical suffering are so marvellously blended as to make it perhaps the most touching of all representations of the "man of sorrows" in pictorial art. It is in such episodes from the life of our Lord, where the divine element is veiled, that the highest triumphs of art have been achieved. In their representations of the Passion, the Deposition, the Entombment, as well as of the child Jesus, the greatest painters of the Italian and German schools have approached the ideal of attainment; but since the days when rude images of our Lord were painted on the walls of the Catacombs, down to our own time, no artist has fully realized that conception of Christ as teacher which is conveyed to us in the noble simplicity of the sacred text. Something which lives only in its words is wanting even in the heads of Christ in the Last Supper, by Lionardo da Vinci, in the Tribute Money by Titian, and in the cartoons by Raphael. Nothing, indeed, could be nobler in style or more perfect in composition than the cartoon of the Charge to Peter, in which the Saviour stands pointing to the flock which he commits to the kneeling Apostle, or than that of the Miraculous Draught of Fishes, in which our Lord's dignified form is clearly defined against the evening sky; and yet in neither does the central figure satisfy us as the complete rendering of a type which would seem to be beyond the reach of art. That this should be so does not appear strange if we reflect that the love, the goodness, the sympathetic pity, the justice, the tenderness, in short, all the elements of Christ's divine and human nature, would have to be concentrated into a single form, endowed with a more than manly strength and a more than feminine gentleness, adequately to represent him as he appeared in the fulfilment of his mission upon earth. The words which fell from his lips in pregnant sentences ex-

where it was found with its precious contents uninjured. Leo X. caused it to be returned to Palermo, whence Philip IV. of Spain removed it to his own country. Mengs (*Opere*, Vol. II. pp. 182 *et seq.*) has devoted many pages of criticism to it, lauding it from every point of view, and making it the basis of a judicious eulogy of the prince of painters.

press all his qualities and attributes, but the pictures and statues which represent him as uttering them, limited as they are to the expression of a single thought, fail to satisfy us who know how much remains unexpressed. Raphael seems to have felt that even his powers were inadequate to treat the Gospel narrative in which Christ the teacher constantly figures, for in his cartoons designed for tapestries, to be hung upon the lower part of the walls of the Sistine Chapel on festal occasions,[8] he continued the cycle of Scripture subjects already painted there by others taken from the Acts of the Apostles.[9]

The survival of seven of them after the unparalleled vicissitudes[10]

[8] The tapestries, ten in number, were woven at Arras, in Flanders, under the direction of Raphael's pupil, Bernhard von Orley. They reached Rome in 1518, and were hung in the chapel on St. Stephen's Day, December 26, 1519. In 1527, and again in 1789, they were stolen from the Vatican, and, falling into the hands of some Jewish traders, the "Descent to Limbo" was destroyed for the sake of the gold-thread which it contained. In 1808 Pius VII. purchased the remainder at Genoa and restored them to the Vatican. An eleventh tapestry, representing the Coronation of the Virgin, which was used for the decoration of the high altar, has lately been discovered by M. Paliard in a chamber connected with the private apartments of the Pope. Paris de Grassis valued each of the tapestries at 2,000 ducats, making that of the eleven 22,000. Vasari estimates them at 70,000 ducats, or about $105,000; others again at 50,000 ducats. (See Waagen, op. cit. Vol. II. p. 379.) The same writer (at p. 371) states that according to the account-books of St. Peter's, Raphael had, on the 15th of June, 1515, received the sum of three hundred ducats on account for his cartoons, and that on the 20th of December, 1516, he was paid one hundred and thirty-four ducats, the remainder of the amount due to him.

[9] Dr. Waagen (*Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, Vol. II. p. 371) points out how ingenious was the selection of the subjects for the cartoons from their connection with those by the earlier painters, which represent in the advent of the Saviour the work of redemption and the founding of the new covenant. "By the principal events from the lives of the two chief Apostles, Peter and Paul, is represented the spread of Christianity; in the death of St. Stephen, the first martyr of the Church, is exemplified the triumph of a Christian's faith."

[10] After they had been cut up into strips and pricked with pinholes by the weavers at Arras, they remained rolled up in the factory until 1630, when Rubens, then Ambassador to England, purchased the only seven which could be found, for King Charles I., who placed them at Whitehall. On the death of the royal martyr they would have been sold at auction with his other art treasures, had not Cromwell interfered and secured

which they have undergone seems almost miraculous. Of all the countless treasures of art which England holds in trust, other nations may with most reason envy her the possession of these precious works, which in style, in composition, in the cast of draperies, in attitudes, and in the rendering of character approach perfection. Let us look at them for a moment under each of these heads, that we may realize how justly they merit their great reputation; and first as regards style, which being throughout noble raises us at once into a pure atmosphere of thought and feeling. Diverting our attention for the moment from the significance to the rendering of the subjects, we recognize them as the creations of a richly cultivated intellect, whose mode of expressing the most important parts and the most trivial details in pictorial language is lofty, natural, and unexaggerated.

In composition they fulfil the highest requirements; for while the arrangement of the forms represented and their surroundings are regulated by the most profound knowledge of the laws of art, these are so kept out of sight that the result appears as unstudied as that of scenes in real life, where the actors have grouped themselves with accidental picturesqueness. In the cast of draperies they are no less admirable. These are related to the forms which they cover but do not conceal,

their purchase by the government for three hundred pounds. Under Charles II. they would have been bought by Louis XIV. had it not been for the vigorous opposition of Lord Danby, first Lord of the Treasury, who induced the king to break off the negotiations entered into with the French ambassador. See Passavant, Vol. II. p. 205.

In 1521 the cartoon of the Stoning of St. Stephen was in the possession of Cardinal Grimani at Venice. The three cartoons representing the Conversion of St. Paul, the St. Paul in Prison at Philippi, and the Coronation of the Virgin, were probably removed from Arras about the same time. These four have disappeared, and no trace of them exists. The seven now in England were first hung up during the reign of William III., in a room built for them by Sir Christopher Wren at Hampton Court. Thence they were removed for safety to the Kensington Museum, where they are at present. They were painted in size colors upon paper, and in the first instance with a light preparation in brown. "The application of the local colors upon this is in the highest degree broad and masterly; and in the lights as well as in the depths of the often hatched shadows, the color is laid on in full body." Waagen, op. cit. Vol. II. p. 374. See Appendix C.

as are musical melodies to the underlying harmony which sustains them. Their folds are broadly treated and carefully disposed; they have their *raison d'être* in the forms beneath them, and falling in lines of consummate beauty which contradict no facts of nature, are no less logical than graceful. The attitudes of the persons represented singly or in groups are natural, appropriate, and infinitely varied. Everywhere the outlines are contrasted with the happiest effect, while the action of the figures always expresses the feeling incident to the situation, whether it be quiet like that of the Christ pointing to his flock, or energetic like that of the St. Peter kneeling at the Saviour's feet. The heads are of every variety of type, from the highest ideal to the most realistic, and so absolutely are the Apostles, the groping Elymas, and the squalid and repulsive beggar at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple individualized, that they become identified in our minds with the persons whom they represent. To thus create final types is what none but the most exalted genius can do. More than any other artist, Raphael has so filled out the ideal of Prophets, Saints, Apostles, heroes, kings, and beggars. If we read in the Acts how Paul preached on Mars Hill, the image which we see is that which he painted; or if of the Sacrifice at Lystra, we see it as he has represented it, with the pagan altar and the two lovely boys who stand beside it, and the victims ready for the sacrifice, and the surging multitude who take Paul and Barnabas for gods. So is it with the Death of Ananias, the Charge to Peter, the Elymas struck with Blindness, the Miraculous Draught of Fishes, and the Peter and John at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple.[11]

[11] Dr. Waagen (*Treasures of Art*, Vol. II. pp. 369–460) gives a detailed description of the cartoons with critical comments, and states the probable share which Raphael's pupils had in their execution. He assigns the Death of Ananias to Luca Penni and Giulio Romano, the Charge to Peter, with the exception of a few touches by the master, to Luca Penni, whose hand is also traceable in the Sacrifice at Lystra, where, however, the heads are probably Raphael's own work; Penni, he says, also assisted in the Elymas, and was helped by Giulio Romano in the St. Paul at Athens. The fishes and cranes in the Miraculous Draught suggest to him the co-operation of Giovanni da Udine, who was a renowned master in natural subjects, and in the Healing of the Lame Man he traces the hand of Giulio Romano.

No one can study the cartoons without being struck with the exceeding beauty and fitness of their landscape and architectural backgrounds, whose character is always in perfect keeping with the subject of which they are an integral though properly subordinate part. This perfect balance between that which though important should from its nature be accessorial, is kept by Raphael in all his mural and easel paintings, and justly forms one of his titles to renown, for there is perhaps no part of a picture in which a master shows himself more clearly. At the height of his fame, Rubens rebuked a rash pupil who had made light of the difficulties involved in painting a background, by proposing to take lessons of him, knowing full well that it may utterly mar a picture, or enhance its beauties a hundred-fold. But although the Flemish painter was eminently skilful in this part of his art, he did not give his backgrounds a real importance in themselves and yet keep them subordinate. It was rather by gradation of tones, and cunning artifice in the use of shades of color, that he led the eye off into space, whereas Raphael used clearly defined forms of trees and hills and buildings for the same purpose, — a much more difficult feat because these are more likely to interfere with the main action. His special excellence in this respect shows itself from the first. In his early pictures his landscapes, though not exempt from the formalism of Perugino's school, are lovely in line and elaborate in detail. Valleys, mountains, green hills clothed with verdure, meadows carpeted with flowers and studded with slender budding trees, are painted in them with scrupulous care and fidelity. In the works of his Roman time, as, for instance, in the cartoons, the backgrounds are broader and bolder in treatment, but not a whit less admirably composed. The quiet lake and wooded shore in the cartoon of the Miraculous Draught of Fishes, the hill and far-stretching plain studded with trees and buildings in that of Christ's Charge to Peter, are instances in point, and many more might be referred to in the frescos of the "Loggie." In the Sacrifice at Lystra, where the masses of buildings disposed on either hand are broken by an open space enriched with a statue of Mercury standing

in the square beyond, in the Death of Ananias, the Elymas, and the Healing of the Cripple, the backgrounds are necessarily architectural, as the scenes depicted take place in city squares or the interior of buildings, and in these, as in the School of Athens, the Miracle of Bolsena, and the Heliodorus, Raphael shows equal mastery.

The "Loggie" (open galleries looking into the court of the Vatican, built by Raphael after the death of Bramante) are decorated with forty-eight frescos, sometimes called the Bible of Raphael, representing incidents taken from the Old and New Testaments, and with arabesques and grotesques in color and in stucco. When these were in all the freshness of their beauty it must have been difficult for the most enthusiastic lover of nature to turn his eyes from them, even to look over Rome to the Campagna and the distant mountains, but at present no such temptation exists, for not only have the arches been filled with glass, but the building has been continued round the two opposite sides of the court, thus shutting out much of the splendid view then visible.

These frescos are so well known through drawings and engravings that it seems unnecessary to describe them. Look through the series and see how naturally they relate in forms the histories which all know in words; observe how knowledge of every sort is displayed in them with so little parade that they seem to have been improvised; mark how there is not one composition which does not contain some exquisite group, such as that of the women who cluster around Pharaoh's daughter like a flock of doves just alighted on the river-bank (Plate VII.); or that of Rachel and Leah, who, meeting Jacob at the well, turn their modest eyes upon the stranger as he recognizes in them those whom he has come to seek. Raphael must have watched his pupils closely while they were painting these frescos, so thoroughly are they filled with his spirit. We may fancy that often while he was painting upon one of the great frescos in the "Stanze" he laid down his brush and wandered into the "Loggie" to see what progress they had made. To correct an outline or the expression of a face, he would

take the pallet from the hands of Penni or Buonaccorsi, and this done would forget himself and paint in a figure or a group, working for hours until interrupted by a summons to attend the Pope in the Borgia chamber, or to receive him at the door opening into the "Loggie" which he was coming to inspect. Since his last visit some one or more of the thirteen arcades had perhaps been cleared of its scaffoldings, and we may imagine the satisfaction felt by his Holiness as its combined historical, allegorical, and ornamental decoration was offered to his view.

It was by that union of the classical with the modern spirit which gives what we call the Renaissance its peculiar character, that Raphael made these galleries so uniquely beautiful. Inspired by those admirable examples of antique mural decoration lately discovered in the Baths of Titus, he designed grotesques and arabesques[12] for the "Loggie" as full of rich invention as their prototypes.

Grotesques may be compared to waking dreams; for although fanciful and bizarre in the highest degree, they are systematized and controlled by the reason. In them the artist rearranges the elements of nature as his fancy dictates, associating realities in strange though logical combinations. He lays the world of nature and art under contribution, and works out new and strange forms. Architectural elements, plants, flowers, leaves, fruits, sirens, griffins, tritons, centaurs, hypogriffs, and other combinations of animal forms are the materials with which he works, making them orderly in their disorder, so that the sense of fitness may not be shocked by the violation of fundamental principles of growth and arrangement. Raphael not only did this, but he often gave an interest to his fanciful creations by associating them in mean-

[12] Grotesques, as they are called from the grottos or subterranean places where they were used as wall decorations, or arabesques, as they were called from the Arabs who made use of them, are of Oriental origin. The Greeks used them soberly, the Romans profusely. The followers of Mohammed adopted them from Byzantium as being strictly within the requirements of their creed. The Moors brought them from Africa to Spain, and Christian Europe employed them in a modified form for mosaics, pavements, and painted windows.

ing with the historical subjects. Thus, for instance, around the Temptation and the Fall he painted genii fighting with harpies, lions, and tigers, symbolic of the struggle between Divine love and the passions of our fallen nature; and about the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah he represented a combat of fantastic monsters. Many of the arabesques are simple overflowings of poetic imagination without ulterior meaning, as, for instance, Chimeras bearing baskets of flowers on their heads; Loves with vases; Fauns placed as Telamones on either side of a temple, supporting a semicircular frame filled with a little landscape; swans, and fantastic animals, such as the phœnix or the hypogriff, in the midst of flowers, leaves, and festoons.

Many of these capricious expressions of artistic fancy were designed and executed by Giovanni or Nanni, called da Udine from his birthplace, an artist of distinguished talent as an ornamentist, who had studied the old Roman decorations in the Baths of Titus with Raphael. He came to Rome after the death of his first master, Giorgione, bringing as his credentials a letter to Count Castiglione, and a book full of animals, birds, plants, and flowers painted from nature in the rarest perfection; and as his talent exactly fitted him for the work then in hand, — the decoration of the "Loggie," — he was employed in it with the happiest results. Time and restoration have dealt so cruelly with his decorative paintings in the lower gallery that we can have but a faint idea of their original excellence; but there are other works of his, such as the arabesques in the ceiling of the so-called Borgia chambers, and above all the stuccos in the second storey of the "Loggie," which fully justify his great reputation. In these he stands in the position of a reviver of one of the lost arts. The secret of preparing a white, durable, and perfectly plastic stucco which like that of the ancients would preserve its sharpness of outline for centuries, was unknown, and the young artist directed his efforts to its discovery. Undeterred by the fruitless result of many experiments, he persevered until he found the desired material in a mixture of white marble dust and travertine, and in this he modelled an infinite number

of gods and goddesses, amorini, centaurs, tritons, and nereids in low relief upon the ceilings and pilasters of the "Loggie," and many subjects illustrative of the work going on around him. The mason preparing the wall for the fresco-painter, the pupil pouncing the outlines of a design, and the modeller fashioning his reliefs, all served him in turn, and even the Pope, as he passed through the gallery and paused to give his blessing to a kneeling penitent, did not escape his quick eye and ready hand.

Animated by the presence of Raphael, the work of decoration went on with wonderful speed and success in all its branches. Since Phidias directed the labors of his skilled assistants at Athens, no such many-handed and one-minded enterprise had been attempted, nor can any one see the result, even in its present state of ruin, without feeling that the old system — under which talent served genius, and the clever, of whom the world is full, became mediums for inspired artists, of whom there are but few — was the true system. It matters little if many lesser lights are swallowed up in one great light; the stars are invisible while the sun shines in the heavens. It was right that such a master as Raphael should absorb the artistic capacities of all around him, because his productive power, limited by the shortness of his life, could only have attained its maximum through the aid of pupils so trained in his style that their individuality was merged in his. As they became the agents of his will, and the workers-out of his thoughts, the world lost what they would have produced without his aid, — a mass of second-rate work by which it would have profited little; but this was a light loss as compared with the great gain obtained by the subserviency of inferior men who were most useful when employed in giving material aid to their superior through such measure of technical skill as it was possible for them to reach.

From these reflections let us turn to consider the Madonna di San Sisto and the Transfiguration, with which Raphael crowned his short and wonderful career. He was commissioned to paint the first of these great masterpieces by the monks of the convent of St. Sixtus at Pia-

cenza, about the year 1518. They wanted an altar-piece, and in it he gave them what generations of painters had failed to attain, the ideal expression of that belief in the divinity of Christ which is the corner-stone of the Christian faith. He painted the infant Jesus of more than earthly beauty in the arms of the Madonna. The picture seems like a vision, — too beautiful to last.

A curtain has been drawn aside, and the mother and her Divine Son are revealed. No halo or external attribute indicates his divinity, nor are his features and limbs other than those of a mortal child. Only by his celestial beauty and his inspired look is his real nature made known. A heavenly light from within illumines his brow and shines in his eyes. Their glance is soft and yet awe-inspiring, for it is that of the Redeemer and the Judge combined. It fills us with opposite emotions of trust or dread, and according to our mood impresses us with the tender mercy of a nature which though divine could stoop to relieve the needs of sinners, or gives us a sense of its pure justice. In many pictures before and after Raphael there are heads of beauty, of power, heads noble, saintly, and inspired, but in none is there one so divine as this of the infant Saviour; none which so fully realizes the type of an incarnate Godhead. So also the representation of her who, as his mother, was blessed among women, is unsurpassed in beauty, in modesty, in dignity, and in grace. Pope Sixtus and Santa Barbara, kneeling on either side of the central group, and the two beautiful cherubs below it gazing upwards as if to lead our eyes with theirs to the celestial vision, form the human links by which our connection with the Christ-child is established.

The spontaneous flow of line, and the seemingly unstudied ease with which this picture is painted, give it the effect of an improvisation. As it now hangs in a gallery, removed from its proper atmosphere, which is that of a church, where the silence is broken only by the sound of the organ or the subdued accents of prayer and praise, its power is due to itself alone. Even the thoughtless are hushed to silence; and is a voice raised above a whisper, a low Hush! runs through the room

to recall the offender to a sense of the respect due to its majestic and divine beauty.

As the series of pictures in which Raphael represented the infant Christ is here closed by his glorification, so is that in which he portrayed the Redeemer closed by his transfiguration. The Transfiguration (Plate VIII.) was long regarded as Raphael's masterpiece and the greatest of all pictures; but although its transcendent merits are in some respects still fully acknowledged, it does not occupy so high a place among his works as it once did, and this on account of certain defects of composition, and the want of transparency in its shadows. For the latter Giulio Romano may be considered responsible. It is evident that he painted a great deal upon this picture, as he was paid two hundred and twenty-four gold ducats out of the six hundred and fifty-five originally agreed upon as the price for it. Had Raphael lived to finish it, there can be no doubt that it would have had a very different appearance. He was aware that when Cardinal Giulio de' Medici commissioned him to paint the Transfiguration for the church at Narbonne of which he had been made bishop, he had also ordered a picture of the Resurrection of Lazarus[13] from Sebastiano del Piombo for the high altar of the church of San Pietro in Montorio at Rome, and knowing that he would have to compete not only with the Venetian painter in effects of color, but with Michelangelo in drawing,[14] he endeavored to meet the first on his own ground by throwing a broad light on the upper part of the picture, and contrasting it with masses of shadow below; and the second by giving it the utmost nobility of style. This he did with wonderful effect, and had the shadows been painted with a Venetian transparency and depth, the Transfiguration would have surpassed the Resurrection of Lazarus in this as in all other respects.

[13] Now in the National Gallery at London.

[14] According to Vasari, Fra Sebastian had direct assistance from Michelangelo in this picture, working, as he tells us, "sotto ordine e disegno in alcune parti di Michel Agnolo." Among Michelangelo's drawings at Oxford are the figure of Lazarus rising from his tomb supported by two of the disciples, studies of the feet, etc.

Surrounded by a brilliant light, our Lord is transfigured before the eyes of the Apostles, and floats in the air between Moses and Elias, above the summit of Mount Tabor. Peter, James, and John lie prostrate, as if unable to support the glory of the apparition, and overcome with awe at the sound of the voice which says to them, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye him." Strongly contrasted with this beatific vision is the scene of human suffering below the Mount. A boy possessed by a devil is brought by his father to the Apostles that he may be cured. They point upwards to Christ as the only helper; but this connection of the terrestrial with the celestial is so imperfect that the mind does not at once seize it, and unity, that first and greatest quality of a composition, seems wanting. Each episode being complete in itself appears to be a separate subject, and the line of the hillock which cuts the picture makes this conspicuous. Of the two that which should be dominant is not so. The eye wanders from the Vision, which should be the chief centre of interest, to the group formed by the boy, the Apostle, and the majestic woman kneeling in the foreground,[15] and the picture seems faulty when judged by Raphael's own canons, because the touching scene of human suffering below the mount so completely absorbs our attention, as it does that of those who take part in it, that, despite the outstretched arm of the Apostle, we also forget the wondrous spectacle in the heavens. Generally when a celestial and a terrestrial scene are represented in the same picture, both are in repose, or one only is in action, as, for instance, in Raphael's Dispute of the Sacrament, where the foreground is filled with moving figures, while those which form the celestial hierarchy are motionless. This is not the case in the Transfiguration or in Titian's splendid picture of the Assumption; but for the most part great painters have felt the importance of keeping the attention undivided by concentrating movement, which attracts the eye, into one half of the picture. These violations of a reasonable law by two of the great-

[15] Said to be a portrait of the Fornarina. Raphael Morghen engraved it as such upon a piece of silver.

est painters the world has known may be set down as exceptions to be met with in the productions of men of genius, which prove nothing against its soundness.

The Cardinal de' Medici evidently considered the Transfiguration superior to the Resurrection of Lazarus, since, contrary to his original intention, he placed the first over the high altar of San Pietro in Montorio, and sent the last to Narbonne. There was, it is true, a reason quite independent of the question as to which was the finer picture of the two, which may have influenced his decision, namely, deference to and sympathy with the popular feeling, which would have asserted itself against the removal of the last and as many thought the finest work of the great artist. Thousands of persons of all ranks had seen it suspended above the couch upon which Raphael's body was exposed in the room where he died, on Good Friday, April 6, 1520, and had it been taken away from Rome all would have felt as if the painter himself were a second time snatched from them.[16]

When Castiglione wrote to his mother, "Rome is no longer Rome now that my dear Raphael is dead," he expressed a feeling which was widely shared, for he had as much identified himself with the ancient city by reconstructing the plans of her temples and palaces from their great ruins, as with the modern by decorating her palaces with frescos which she then counted and still counts among her greatest treasures. A malignant fever had snatched him away at the early age of thirty-seven, in the midst of projects half formed and plans half carried out, and when Castiglione wrote he had just been buried at the Pantheon

[16] "And when all beheld
Him, where he lay, how changed from yesterday,
Him in that hour cut off, and at his head
His last great work; when, entering in, they looked
Now on the dead, then on that masterpiece,
Now on his face, lifeless and colorless,
Then on those forms divine that lived and breathed,
And would live on for ages, — all were moved,
And sighs burst forth, and loudest lamentations." — ROGERS'S *Italy*.

in a tomb which he had himself selected and prepared. Although his last resting-place was marked by a marble group[17] sculptured by Lorenzetto in accordance with directions given in Raphael's will, it was believed by many persons that his body lay at Santa Maria sopra Minerva, in a chapel belonging to the Urbinese residents at Rome. The doubt was not solved until 1833, when the tomb at the Pantheon was opened and found to contain his skeleton in a good state of preservation. "As you read these lines," wrote the painter Overbeck on this occasion to his friend Philip Veit, "you will feel somewhat of the pious emotion which penetrated us when we looked upon the bones of the dear master."

For a whole month after their discovery they were exposed to public view, in a coffin raised upon a catafalque, surrounded with lighted candles. Again, after an interval of three hundred and thirteen years, a Roman crowd pressed around them and witnessed the imposing ceremonies attendant upon their reburial in the tomb which they had so long occupied, and where it may be hoped they will henceforth lie undisturbed.

It is perhaps in some measure because these "spoglie immemore di tanto spiro" have been seen and touched by men of our own time, that the death of Raphael is brought very near to us. The death of any man of genius brings with it a sense of personal regret. We mention the year and the day when it took place with a certain emotion, for his works have made us his friends. We know that we are so much the happier and better for his existence, and are grateful to him because he has planted our standard of the beautiful so much nearer the ideal. Identified with his works in our minds, known to us in his personal appearance and in all the incidents of his career, he is often more really our acquaintance than nine tenths of the people with whom we live, especially if we sympathize with the peculiar character of his mind and love the kind of work which he did in the world. Living with, and actively influenced as we are by those with

[17] Called the Madonna "del Sasso," from the stone on which she rests her foot.

whom we come in contact, the links which bind us to the men of the past are in many cases stronger than those which hold us to those of the present, for the foundations of our intellectual being were laid before we were born; and as in old family mansions we value the pictures, books, chairs, and tables left us by our grandsires far more than those which we have added to them, so in our minds we most value those treasures which we have inherited. Again, between us and living men of genius there is often a material barrier, which only death can break down. Excepting in rare cases, we do not know them at their best, nor can we take in their lives at a glance, but see them partially and incompletely. Their peculiarities of temper or disposition perhaps prevent free intercourse, and a sense of our own inferiority keeps us at a distance from them; but when nothing is left upon the earth but the fruits of their labor, we approach these freely, and know no bounds to our enjoyment save that which is imposed by the limits of our appreciation. All may know Michelangelo now that he is dead, whereas while he was alive this was possible but to few. Raphael was more accessible to his contemporaries, and yet as an artist they could not appreciate him as we can, because they could not like us compare him with his successors. We who know what followed in Italy after his death and that of Michelangelo, can better measure their greatness; and though change of taste and fashion has so obscured the judgment of some men of our time that they permit themselves to speak of the common estimate of Raphael as exaggerated, he still ranks in the judgment of the world at large where his own time placed him.

To substantiate his claim to the highest rank, we need only define the qualities of a great painter, and then measure him by the standard thus formed. A great painter is one who through the medium of line and color so expresses the sentiments excited in him by Nature as to raise others to that perception of her perfections of which they would be incapable without his aid, and who so portrays the passions and feelings of humanity through human forms as to inspire those who see his works with the same measure of enthusiasm which filled

his own mind when he delineated them. To do this he must have the poetic temperament which sympathizes with and assimilates all good things; he must have an eye trained to perceive beauty wheresoever it exists, a hand which through discipline has become the obedient instrument of his every thought, a profound insight into character, and a comprehension of the ideal with a grasp of the actual, which will prevent him, while giving rein to his imagination, from overstepping the bounds of truth and falling into exaggeration and mannerism. His technical knowledge, which includes that of the laws of composition, of design, of light and shade, of color, of drawing, and of perspective, must be complete, and with a fine feeling for form he must have that perfect comprehension of the just relation between hues and forms which will enable him to associate them harmoniously. Finally, all his powers must be under the steady control of an enlightened judgment, which will guide him as if by intuition in selecting those materials in nature best suited to the perfect accomplishment of his purpose. Neither Raphael nor any other man ever had all these gifts and acquirements in equal proportion. Titian and Giorgione excelled him in color, Michelangelo in grandeur of style, and Lionardo in subtle delicacy of handling; but even in these particulars he was surpassed by such artists only, and none of them had the sum of qualities which he possessed in such admirable balance. No one among artists is more full of variety than Raphael, and yet the very evenness and perfect level of his genius makes him appear wanting in it to superficial observers. To such as they the summer sea is tame, the cloudless sky uninteresting. Take one of his great compositions, such as the School of Athens, and see if among the many figures which it contains there be one which resembles another in attitude, in physiognomy, in drapery, in action. Look through his Madonnas and Holy Families, and see if there be any two which, barring a certain unavoidable sisterhood, are alike in expression or in arrangement of pose, coiffure, or drapery? Again, in respect to character, who has rendered the men of his day with greater fidelity, or created ideal types of historical persons more perfectly in keeping with what history tells us of

them? It would be hard to say which are the more real to us, the Saints Peter and Paul whom he drew from his imagination, or the Julius II. and the Leo X. whom he painted from life. Unlike Rubens, whose eye was "rather a mirror than a penetrating instrument," calculated to reflect the exterior rather than to seize the inmost spirit of those whose faces he painted, Raphael saw and revealed the inner man to observers of all time. He was not one of those who softened physical defects to please his sitters or their friends, — witness the cross-eye of Inghirami, the sallow, shrivelled cheeks of Julius, and the sensual features of Leo; nor did he in his ideal heads depart from truth lest he might shock the over-sensitive, — witness the head of the beggar asking alms at the gate of the Temple, and the distorted features of the possessed boy in the Transfiguration. The wide range between such heads as these and those of the Madonnas and Angels and Saints in which he expressed his highest conceptions of female beauty, shows complete mastery over every kind of human type. We recognize the fertility of a genius which, though dealing with the same subject, is ever new in its expression, when we separate the heads of beauty from those of character, and contrast like with like, such as his Madonnas in the "Cardellino" and the "San Sisto"; his infant Christs in the "Belle Jardinière" and the "Seggiola"; his Saints in the Saint Catherine and the Saint Cecilia; and his angels in the "Pesce" and the Liberation of St. Peter.

We cannot close this enumeration of Raphael's excellences without dwelling for a moment upon his just perception of the limits beyond which the expression of a sentiment or a passion cannot be carried without risk of exaggeration, and the consequent weakening of effect. The terrible beauty of the angel who rushes as on the wings of the wind to chastise Heliodorus, is the beauty of supernatural strength which has limitless power in reserve, and cannot like mortal energy exhaust its forces by any effort; but to express this reserve, and yet give the impression of irresistible power, was a problem which none but an artist who had the keenest sense of just limitations could have solved. Throughout all his works there is not an expression of face

or a contour, whether of muscle or drapery, which is not exactly suited to its end; nor in the thousands of figures which he drew or painted can we recall an ungraceful or a mannered line or pose. This was because of all artists since the Greeks he had the most perfect feeling for true beauty. The beautiful was his special field, and hence he is first among his kind. Lionardo had more depth, Michelangelo more grandeur, Correggio more sweetness; but none of them approached Raphael as an exponent of beauty whether in young or old, in mortals or immortals, in earthly or divine beings. In the Sistine Chapel we are stirred as with the blast of a trumpet, carried out of ourselves as by the sound of a language more powerful than the speech of men; but in the "Stanze" of the Vatican we feel the influence of a genius of which grace was the essence, moderation the principle, and beauty the guiding star. Raphael was in truth the greatest of artists, because the most comprehensive,[18] blending as he did the opposing tendencies of the mystics and the naturalists into a perfect whole by reverent study of nature and of the antique. Bred in a devotional school of art, and transferred to an atmosphere charged with classical ideas, he retained enough of the first, while he absorbed enough of the second, to make him a painter of works Christian in spirit and Greek in elegance and purity of form and style.[19] The epitaph inscribed upon his tomb, here given in the version of Pope, is a fitting conclusion to this record of his life.[20]

"Living, great Nature feared he might outvie
Her works; and dying fears herself may die."

[18] "If," says M. Ollivier (*La Chapelle des Medicis*), "we call Lionardo, Correggio, Michelangelo, or Titian king, a part of the artistic world is excluded. Not so when we salute Raphael with such a title; each one can say, You are my son or my father."

[19] War ein Künstler mit persönlicher Schönheit, mit Empfindung des Schönen, mit Geist und Kenntniss des Alterthums begabt, so war es Raphael; und dennoch sind seine Schönheiten unter dem Schönsten in der Natur. Erinnerung über die Betrachtung der Werke der Kunst. § 12. Winckelmann.

[20] "Ille hic est Raphael, timuit, quo sospite, vinci
Rerum magna parens, et moriente mori."

CHAPTER VIII.

Michelangelo, 1520–1534.

The Chapel of the Medici, commenced 1520. San Lorenzo, Florence.

The Library of San Lorenzo in progress, 1523. San Lorenzo, Florence.

Picture of Leda for the Duke of Ferrara, 1529. San Lorenzo, Florence.

Statues of Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici, the Day, Night, Aurora, and Twilight, for the Medici tombs, 1525–1529. Work resumed and continued, 1530–1534. Medici Chapel, San Lorenzo.

Successive contracts for the tomb of Julius II., 1500–1542. The two Prisoners intended for this monument were already blocked out in 1815. Louvre.

The Moses for the same monument was finished before 1534. Tomb of Julius II. "San Pietro ad Vincula," Rome.

Madonna and Child. Group. 1542. Tomb of Julius II. "San Pietro ad Vincula," Rome.

Leah and Rachel. Tomb of Julius II. Before 1545. "San Pietro ad Vincula," Rome.

Unfinished Statue for Tomb of Julius II. ? Grotto of Boboli Gardens, Florence.

Adonis. ? Uffizi, Florence.

Bas-relief of the Pietà. ? Hospital for the Poor, Genoa.

CHAPTER VIII.

"Im ganzen, guten, wahren, resolut zu leben."—GOETHE.

LET us hope that when Fra Sebastiano del Piombo wrote to Michelangelo (April 12, 1520), "You have probably heard of the death of poor Raphael of Urbino, and I am sure that the event has caused you much sorrow," he felt some regret for the unworthy rôle which he had played between them. But although these words seem to indicate it, we cannot feel sure that he did, for he had reason to dread lest the survivor would regard his treatment of an artist so eminent in a new light, now that death had broken down the petty barriers which his hands had helped to construct between them.

Together with his devoted admirer, Lionardo Sellajo di Compagno,[1] he had systematically depreciated Raphael both as an artist and a man, and we who read their letters to Michelangelo can only wonder that the malevolent spirit displayed in them did not rouse his indignation.

In a letter written by Sebastiano in 1518[2] he says, "My more than

[1] A Florentine, who as cashier at the Borgherini bank frequently transacted business with Michelangelo.

[2] Dated July 2, 1518. No. 12. Gotti, op. cit. Vol. II. p. 56. The two pictures referred to are those painted for Francis I. now in the Louvre, namely, the so-called Holy Family of Francis I., and the St. Michael. The portrait of Giovanna of Aragon was sent by the Pope as a present to the king at the same time.

father and most beloved, I am sorry that you were not at Rome to see two pictures by the *Prince of the Synagogue*, which have just been sent to France, for I believe that nothing more opposed to your views could be imagined. I need only say that the figures look as if they had been smoked, or were made of polished iron, all bright and black, and that they are drawn in the way which Lionardo [Michelangelo's brother] will describe to you." To call Raphael *Prince of the Synagogue* was to call him a Jew, which at Rome in the sixteenth century was the most contemptuous of all names. This was bad enough, but more remains behind, for in the latter part of the same letter Sebastiano charges Raphael with stealing. "I wish," he says, "that you could persuade Messer Domenico [Buoninsegni, for whom he had painted a picture] to have his picture gilded at Rome, and to let me gild it, because I wish to prove to the Cardinal that Raphael robs the Pope of at least three ducats a day in the process of gilding." Is it going too far, we would ask, to suppose that a man capable of uttering such a calumny was himself plotting fraud of the same sort against Messer Domenico in case his request should be granted?

Sellajo did not indeed proceed to such lengths, but contented himself with praising the works of Fra Sebastiano at Raphael's expense. Writing to Michelangelo about the Resurrection of Lazarus[3] (now in the National Gallery), he says, "Sebastiano has nearly finished his picture, and in such a manner that all good judges exalt him far above Raphael. The Chigi ceiling [Farnesina] which has just been uncovered is *a disgrace* to a great master, worse than the last chamber which he painted at the Vatican [that of the "Incendio del Borgo"], so that Sebastiano fears nothing. Take note of it." A year later Sebastiano himself writes about this same picture, "I consider that it is better drawn than the tapestries which have been sent from Flanders," meaning those woven at Arras after Raphael's cartoons.[4]

Having failed in their endeavor to induce the Pope to dispossess

[3] January 1, 1518. Letter given by Gotti, Vol. II. p. 56.

[4] December 29, 1519. Gotti, Vol. I. p. 126.

Raphael and employ them to complete the decoration of the Vatican chambers, Fra Sebastiano and his friends redoubled their efforts after his death to get a foothold in the Palace. It was undoubtedly at his request that Michelangelo wrote to Cardinal Bibbiena (June, 1520): "I beg your most Reverend Signory, not as a friend and a servant, for I am unworthy to be either, but as a man vile, poor, and crazy, to get Sebastiano, the Venetian painter, some share in the works at the Palace, now that Raphael is dead. If your Signory thinks that in granting my request you are wasting labor, I would remind you that there is the same sort of pleasure in serving madmen which men surfeited with capers feel when they take to eating garlic."[5] This oddly expressed letter (whose apparent jocoseness is intended to veil the writer's bitter sense of Leo's neglect) failed to secure its desired end, for Sebastiano writes in answer that when he took the letter to the Cardinal he was told that the decoration of the Halls of the Popes[6] was assigned to Raphael's scholars, and that they had already painted upon the wall a figure in oil of such beauty "that no one will ever again care to look at the frescos in the other chambers. Nevertheless," he adds, "I have been secretly assured by Baccio Bandinelli that the Pope is not satisfied with their work." In another letter he tells Michelangelo that the chamberlain had proposed to him in the Pope's name to decorate the lower hall, leaving the upper one to be painted after the designs of Raphael. "This," he says, "I refused, on the ground that after having been offered half the upper hall by the Pope himself, it was not fitting that I, who do not consider myself inferior to them, should paint the cellars and they the gilded halls." He then urges Michelangelo to undertake the work, "than which there is none more honorable in the world. Thus you will have an opportunity of avenging all your wrongs, and of so stopping the mouths of the crickets that they will cease their chirping once and forever."

[5] Milanesi, op. cit. Letter CCCLXIII. p. 413.

[6] The two halls then called of the Popes, which were distinguished as the lower and the upper, are now called the Sala Borgia and the Sala di Constantino.

Michelangelo turned a deaf ear to this appeal, either because he knew that he had no chance of success, or moved, as we prefer to believe, by the honorable feeling that Giulio Romano and Giovan Francesco Penni ought to be allowed to paint the Hall of Constantine after the designs prepared by their master. Thus the matter ended; but it is important to note that while lately published letters furnish no proof that Bramante had formerly endeavored to persuade the Pope to allow Raphael to paint half the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel as alleged, they clearly show that during his lifetime Michelangelo's friends did what they could to obtain for themselves a portion of the work assigned to Raphael, and to prevent the carrying out of his designs when death had removed him from the scene of his labors. The blame for these transactions, as we have already said, rests upon them and not upon Michelangelo, who, if left to himself, would never have meddled with the work assigned to another. His appreciation of his rival's work, and his frankness in acknowledging its merit when occasion offered, is illustrated by the following story, which appears to be authentic. After Raphael had finished the Prophets in the Chigi Chapel at S^{ta} Maria della Pace, for which he received five hundred scudi on account from Giulio Borghese, the paymaster of his employer, Agostino Chigi, he asked for the remainder of the sum, to which he considered himself entitled. Upon this Michelangelo was called in to set a price upon the work, and, filled with admiration, declared that every head "was worth a hundred golden scudi."

Having now enabled the reader to judge for himself how little one of these great artists was influenced in his judgment of the other by the disparagement of interested parties, we may resume the thread of our history.

Michelangelo can hardly have grieved at the death of Leo X., for there had been no friendship lost between them from the first. The way in which the Pope had made him waste his precious time at Carrara and Serravezza, and condemned him to exile, rankled in his soul. Freed from the contract for the façade of San Lorenzo, he was

soon burthened with another Papal commission, and again obliged to return to Carrara for marbles to be used in building the chapel and sculpturing the monuments of the Medici.[7] A few months later his taskmaster died, and this new enterprise was interrupted.

The election of Adrian Boyers, Cardinal Bishop of Tortosa, and whilom tutor to Charles V., left Michelangelo perfectly free to work upon the Julius monument, for the new Pope cared as little for the Medici as for the Della Rovere, and was absolutely indifferent as to how he or any of the artists who had been so long the glory and pride of the Vatican were employed. An excellent man, of a most devout temper, and versed in scholastic theology, the successor of Leo X. frowned upon profane literature, and regarded the arts with an aversion which he did not attempt to conceal. He looked upon antique statues as "pagan idols," and things of evil, like all that contributed to the delight of the eyes. To the disgust of the Romans, who had been trained by a long series of Popes into thinking that the Vatican was a place for worldly amusement, and that the chief duty of the occupant of St. Peter's chair was to amuse them by feasts and pageants, Adrian VI. cut down the number of his retainers, reduced the salaries of those employed at the court, and, as far as he was able, put a stop to all license and extravagance. It was not in the designs of Providence, however, that Rome should escape, by any permanent reform within her walls, from the Nemesis who was soon to avenge the past, and so Adrian of Utrecht died, after a short reign of less than two years, and was succeeded by a man of a very different stamp, — the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, known in history as Pope Clement VII.

To be a Medici was in the eyes of the literary and artistic world to be another Leo, and the fact that the new Pope belonged to that renowned house sufficed to recall both the lovers of wisdom and the lovers of pleasure who had absented themselves from Rome during the short reign of the Reformer. They came at his call to inaugurate

[7] This was his tenth and last journey to the quarries since 1505, when he visited them for the first time in the service of Pope Julius.

the new "régime" with befitting splendor, little dreaming that within five years the vacillating policy of their new master would cause the city which they loved to fall into the hands of a brutal soldiery, and bring such destruction upon her high places as they had not known since the days of Alaric and of Attila. Like the rest, Michelangelo hailed the elevation of Giulio de' Medici as an auspicious event. "All the world is rejoiced," he writes to Domenico (a marble-worker at Carrara) on hearing the news, "and I am of the opinion that much will now be done in the way of art." His own anticipations of finding favor in the new Pope's sight were founded on the past. Ever since the days when they had lived together in the Medici palace at Florence, Giulio de' Medici, then a boy under the tutelage of Politian, had shown an interest in him, and now that he had become Pope he had an opportunity of proving it. What he did was not what Michelangelo desired, although he must have anticipated that Clement, who had given him the commission for the Medici monuments while he was Cardinal, would not allow him to go on with the monument to Pope Julius, and thus forego the realization of a project calculated to aggrandize the prestige of his own family, which, like Leo X., he had much at heart.

Julius or Leo would have commanded him to do their bidding without any preliminaries, but Clement first tried to tempt him by the offer of a pension, and hinted that he had better enter a religious order, a course which would have taken away from him even that shadow of independence to which he had held fast under former Popes. Although Michelangelo rejected both propositions, Clement was none the less master of the situation, as he showed by ordering him to go on with the Medici Chapel, build a library to contain the books and manuscripts of his family,[8] and decorate the piazza of San Lorenzo with

[8] Cosmo Pater Patriæ built a room for them in the Convent of St. Marks. After the death of Lorenzo and the expulsion of Piero de' Medici, the monks, being embarrassed pecuniarily, sold them to Leo X., who, when he became pope, took them to Rome, installed them at the Villa Medici on the Pincian, and made many precious additions to them. In 1522 Clement sent them back to Florence, where the Laurentian Library had meanwhile been prepared to receive them.

a colossal statue sixty feet in height. This last scheme was evidently taken by Michelangelo in the light of a joke, — an exceptional way of looking at anything with him, — for in a letter to Fattucci he ridicules it with a grim smile. "Let us put it," he writes, "where the barber's shop now stands, opposite the square on the other side of the street; and in order to save Figaro from displacement, I will make the seat hollow upon which the figure is to be seated, and give it to him as a convenient place to shave his customers in. The cornucopia in the hand of the statue can be used as a chimney, and the head being empty can serve as a dovecot. Another plan would be to treat the figure as a campanile for San Lorenzo, putting the bells inside the head and having the sound come out of the mouth, so that when they are rung it will seem as if the figure cried 'Misericordia.'" This humorous letter seems to have killed the project altogether, and Michelangelo might have settled down to work upon the library and the chapel in comparative peace, had he not been worried by a lawsuit which the heirs of Julius II. proposed to bring against him, because he had failed to fulfil his last contract for that monument which was the intermittent torment of his life for forty-five years, and accused him of having received money on account which he had spent in other ways than those for which it was advanced. Filled with righteous indignation, and firm in the consciousness of his innocence, Michelangelo demanded and obtained an examination of the accounts *ab initio*, which resulted in proving that so far from having plundered others he had robbed himself by spending more money than he had received for buying marbles and transporting them to Rome.

The following letter,[9] written to Giovan Francesco Fattucci[10] by Michelangelo, contains many interesting details concerning the oft-

[9] Milanesi, Letter CCCLXXXIII. p. 126, written in 1524 and first published by Ciampi in 1834. Gaye (*Carteggio*, Vol. II. p. 83) doubts its authenticity; but although interpolated and transcribed, there is no doubt that it represents a real letter of Michelangelo's. — Springer, p. 8, note 1.

[10] Until 1522 chaplain in Santa Maria del Fiore at Florence, and afterwards in the service of Clement VII. at Rome.

mentioned monument and other artistic commissions given him by Julius II.

"Messer Giovan Francesco, you ask me, for certain reasons of your own, to tell you about my relations with Pope Julius. I can assure you that an examination of the accounts, if it could be made to-morrow, would rather prove me to be his creditor than his debtor. At the time when he sent for me to Florence, — I think it was in the second year of his Pontificate, — I had undertaken to paint the half of the Hall of Council in the Palazzo Vecchio for three thousand ducats, and had finished the cartoon, as all Florence knows, which in my estimation was worth half that sum. One of the twelve Apostles, commissioned for Santa Maria del Fiore, was then roughed out, and the greater part of the marbles for the others were in hand. As the Pope obliged me to go away, I gained nothing by either commission. When I reached Rome he requested me to make his monument, gave me one thousand ducats to pay for the marbles, and sent me to Carrara to procure them. I spent eight months there in roughing them out, and then brought the greater part of them to Rome, where some were placed in the square of St. Peter's and some remained at the Ripa Grande.[11] The money which I had received was exhausted in paying for these marbles; but as I counted upon getting more from the commission for the monument, I furnished my house on the square of St. Peter's with beds and other furniture, and sent to Florence for assistants, some of whom are still living, to whom I advanced money out of my own pocket. At this time the Pope changed his mind, and no longer wished to go on with the monument: and when I, not knowing this, went to ask for money, and was driven out of the Vatican, I felt myself insulted and quitted Rome immediately. Everything which I left in my house suffered, and as the marbles which I had brought remained on the square of St. Peter's until the election of Pope Leo, both matters turned out as badly as possible. Among other

[11] Vessels arriving at Rome from Fiumicino at the mouth of the Tiber discharge their cargoes at the Ripa Grande opposite the Aventine, or directly below it.

losses which I could prove by witnesses and demand compensation for, were those of two pieces of marble each four and a half braccie in length, which had cost me more than fifty gold ducats. These were carried away from the 'Ripa'[12] by Agostino Chigi. During the year which elapsed between the time when I went to Carrara for the marbles and my expulsion from the palace, I received no money and spent ducats by the tens.

"After that, the first time that Pope Julius went to Bologna I was forced to go there and ask his pardon with a halter round my neck, wherefore he commissioned me to make his seated statue in bronze about nine braccie in height. When he asked me how much it would cost, I answered that it could probably be cast for one thousand ducats, but that, as I was no expert, I did not wish to bind myself to do it for that sum. Hearing this, he replied, 'Set to work, and cast it until it succeeds, and I will pay you to your satisfaction.' To speak briefly, the statue was cast twice, and at the end of two years, which it took to finish it, I found that I had advanced four ducats and a half. From that time I received no more money, and that which I spent in the said two years was taken from the one thousand ducats at which I had said the statue could be cast, and these were paid to me at intervals by Messer Antonio Maria da Legniame of Bologna.

"After I had set up the statue upon the façade of St. Petronius and had returned to Rome, the Pope still refused to allow me to make his monument, and set me to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel at the stipulated price of three thousand ducats. At first I proposed to put the Twelve Apostles in the lunettes, and to fill the rest of the space with ornaments after the usual fashion. Afterwards, when I had begun the easel-work, it seemed to me that it would turn out a poor thing if the Apostles only were painted, and I said so to the Pope. He asked me why: I answered because they also were poor men. He then gave me permission to do what I liked, saying that he would pay

[12] The Ripa Grande on the left bank of the Tiber, below the Aventine, where marbles are discharged.

me well for it, and that I might paint down to the Scripture subjects.[13] When the ceiling was nearly finished the Pope went back to Bologna, whither I twice followed him to ask for money due to me, but without success; besides which, I lost all my time until he returned to Rome. After my own return, I made cartoons of the heads and faces to be painted in the Sistine Chapel, hoping to be paid, and to complete the work. In this I was disappointed, and one day, when talking with Messer Bernardo Bibbiena and Atalante,[14] I complained of my fruitless efforts, saying that as I could not get any money I must leave Rome, and trust in Heaven to help me. Hearing this, Messer Bernardo told Atalante to remind him of what I had said, as he was determined to get the money for me. Thanks to his intervention, I received two thousand ducats from the Papal treasury, of which I gave one hundred to Messer Bernardo and fifty to Atalante to recompense them for their good offices. These two thousand ducats and the one thousand previously paid to me made up the amount expended for the marbles, wherefore I supposed that I had received them in recompense for lost time and the works completed.

"Then came the death of the Pope; and as in the early part of Leo's pontificate Aginensis[15] wished to increase the size of the monument, we made a new contract. When I objected to have the three thousand ducats which I had received credited to the new account, because, as I showed, I ought to have received a much larger sum, Aginensis called me a cheat."[16]

[13] Meaning those already painted by Pinturicchio, Roselli, and Perugino.

[14] Atalante, natural son of Manetto Migliorotti, a Florentine, born in 1466, accompanied Lionardo da Vinci to Milan at the age of sixteen, and was taught by him to play on the lute. In 1513 he became one of the superintendents of the works at St. Peter's.

[15] Son of a sister of Sixtus IV., made Cardinal of San Pietro ad Vincula by Julius II. in 1505. His real name was Lionardo Grosso della Rovere. Wilson, op. cit. p. 195, note 1, and Milanesi, op. cit. p. 128.

[16] Springer (*Michelangelo in Rome*, 1508–12, p. 15) points out that this letter fixes the date of Michelangelo's call to Rome in the winter of 1504–5. As he stayed eight months at Carrara, and in April, 1506, returned to Rome, he can have worked but little on the monument. During the remaining years of the Pontificate he was confessedly kept from so doing, nor was the work resumed until 1513, after the Pope's death.

It is evident that Aginensis, who acted for the executors of the Pope, made no allowance for time wasted in fruitless journeys and in waiting for money with which to carry on work. For these delays Michelangelo was in no wise answerable, and we cannot wonder that, having suffered so much from them, he was indignant at being called a cheat.

The reader will remember that according to the first design the monument was to have been an immense quadrilateral structure, three storeys in height, decorated with forty statues and many bas-reliefs. The second design, made under the new contract, shows but three sides, the fourth being set against the wall;[17] but from Michelangelo's own words in the letter just quoted, and from the fact that instead of ten thousand ducats, stipulated by the first contract, the executors agreed to allow him sixteen thousand five hundred, it is evident that they proposed to make it even richer and grander than it would have been according to the first design. The arrangement of niches, statues, architectural enrichments, etc., seems to have been very much the same, but a chapel adorned with five statues was to be built against the wall, at the rear end of the platform, which would certainly have contributed greatly to the grand and imposing effect of the whole.

In 1515 Leo X. obliged Michelangelo to break this second contract in order that he might work for him upon the façade of San Lorenzo; but the next year he permitted him to make a third, by which the design for the monument was again modified, and the number of statues considerably reduced. Nine years of incessant occupation, during which little was done towards carrying it out, ended with those threats of prosecution of which we have already spoken, and brought about an examination of the accounts which cleared Michelangelo from the unjust accusations of fraud with which he had been charged. Seven years after he signed his name to a fourth contract, by which he bound himself to finish six statues with his own hand for the monument, which, on a greatly reduced scale, was to be set up, not in

[17] Milanesi, Appendix, pp. 635–637, gives this second contract *in extenso*.

St. Peter's, but in the church of "San Pietro ad Vincula," of which Julius II. had at one time been Cardinal. For recompense he was to receive two thousand gold ducats, and the whole was to be completed in three years; but this agreement was broken like the rest, nor was it until the year 1542 that a fifth and final contract was made between Pope Paul III., the Duke of Urbino, and Michelangelo, under which the monument received its present form. As all the world knows, it has one statue finished by the great sculptor himself, and two other statues, the Rachel and Leah, for which he furnished the designs. Before concluding this final arrangement, Michelangelo stipulated that he should be allowed to pay back a sum of money already advanced for the three other statues agreed upon by the contract of 1532, and he accordingly deposited fifteen hundred and eighty ducats to the Duke's credit in the hands of his bankers, the Strozzi, at Florence.

The monument in its final shape would hardly have satisfied the ambition of Julius II., whose statue, reclining upon a sarcophagus (the work of Maso del Bosco, a third-rate sculptor), is one of its most insignificant features. It has been called a monument to Moses, and such it appears, for when looking at it we see only this mighty figure relieved against an architectural background, whose tasteless lines disturb rather than enhance its effect. Painfully out of harmony with its surroundings, which are quite disproportioned to it, it is seen at a great disadvantage on a level with the eye, instead of being grouped with other statues of corresponding size at a considerable elevation. It is but the disjointed part of an unexplained whole, a giant among pygmies, a huge block of marble set against a tasteless architectural background. Our opinion of it as a work of art depends very much upon whether we judge it from an ancient or a modern point of view. Winckelmann, who regarded Michelangelo's works from the Hellenic standpoint, speaks of him as one of those artists "in whose mind Heaven did not permit the soft feeling of pure beauty to ripen,"[18] and perhaps we could

[18] "In andern hat der Himmel das sanfte gefuhl, der reinen schönheit nicht zur reife kommen lassen," etc. — *Von der Kunst unter den Gricchen*, § 14, p. 129. Winckelmann's Works, Vol. I. Stuttgart. 1847.

not better show how he differs from men less imbued with the antique spirit, than by an imaginary dialogue between an Athenian of the fifth century B. C. and an Italian of our own time. Meeting before the Moses, the Greek thus addresses the Italian: —

Greek. I pray you, O man of the modern world, of which I know nothing, as I have dwelt in Hades since Charon ferried me over the Styx some two thousand years ago, tell me who is the Deity enthroned in this temple? I must confess myself sorely puzzled, for while the budding horns on his forehead would lead me to think him Pan or one of his satyrs, his flowing locks remind me of Zeus or Poseidon, and his gigantic limbs of Hercules. Yet he can be none of these, for he has neither the satyr's feet, nor the thunderbolt of Zeus, nor the trident of Neptune, nor the club and the lion's skin of Hercules.

Italian. You are right, my antiquated friend; this is neither god nor demigod. Our sculptors seldom waste their chisel-strokes on representations of those unsubstantial phantoms with which your brilliant Greek imagination peopled the heaven, the earth, and the sea. Old Pan is dead with all his fellows, and when we dig up ancient statues of him or of them, we use them to adorn our gardens or our museums; but never put them into our churches, lest the ignorant should fall down and worship them. This is no god, but a great Jewish lawgiver called Moses, to whom the God of the Christians — the unknown God whom your descendants worshipped at Athens — gave certain tablets of stone graven with the laws which they were to obey. The projections on his forehead, which you mistake for horns, are rays of light, "twin beams that from his temples start," brilliant signs that he is the leader of God's chosen people. Now that I have told you who is here represented, do you not see how admirably this great and powerful figure realizes the idea of an inspired medium between the Supreme Being and man? Is he not really great?

Greek. Yes, if size is to be taken as a standard of greatness; but we Greeks do not consider it such. "*Οὐκ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ τὸ εὖ κείμενος εἶναι, ἀλλα ἐν τῷ εὖ τὸ μέγα,*" says Athenæus.

Italian. That means, as I understand it, for I am not ignorant of your admirable language, "the excellent does not lie in the great, but the great in the excellent."

Greek. Precisely so. Now to me it seems as if the sculptor of this figure took an absolutely opposite point of view. I cannot deny that his lawgiver has a certain grandeur, but of a sort which is inadmissible in sculpture according to our ideas. He seems to have taken as his model one of those vapor figures which lie about the track of Helios as he plunges his fiery chariot at evening into the sea. Had he studied nature after our fashion, and known how to reach the ideal by winnowing the wheat from the chaff, under which head our Greek sculptors classed the unfit as well as the unseemly, he would have striven to attain purity and elegance of line, and to diffuse that serene energy throughout his figure which is alone consistent with the ideal whether of god or prophet. There is, however, one thing for which I must give him credit, and this is that he has sought to identify the personage represented by grandeur and dignity of demeanor rather than through distinctive attributes. So Phidias in the frieze of the Parthenon distinguished gods from mortals by giving them the impress of a superior nature.

Italian. I rejoice that you are candid enough to admit this excellence, and have all confidence in the independence of your judgment up to a certain point, but beyond this I do not trust you, for you cannot free yourself wholly from the trammels of a system which you were educated to regard as perfect. Still, I would ask you once more whether the plenitude of form, grandeur of pose, majestic presence, and expressive dignity of this statue, do not in some measure condone those departures from Greek canons of taste which you have pointed out?

Greek. To speak frankly, no. What looks to you like dignity seems to me self-consciousness. I see the sculptor so plainly that I cannot lose the sense of his personality, as I do in presence of a really great work of art, which, like a work of nature, should suggest no intermediate hand between the thought and the thing. Here I trip over the

artist at every step. He seems to be working to display his knowledge and skill rather than to embody a great ideal. Again, his forms are redundant and his use of means ill-proportioned to his end. So our sophists at Athens used to address the multitude with loudly pitched voices, covering up the shallowness of their reasoning with sounding phrases, and blinding the judgment of those among their audience who had any grain of common-sense by rapidity and energy of gesture, forced enthusiasm, and exaggerated diction. The true orator, like the true artist, speaks calmly and to the purpose, with no crowing or flapping of wings, but with just so much of warmth as is necessary to keep the attention of his listeners alive, until the moment comes to launch forth a telling phrase or a withering sarcasm. As in a speech, so in a work of art nothing is so important as to give the impression of reserved power. If the speaker or the sculptor tells us all he knows, our imaginations have no room for play. We tire of him and his work, and will not acknowledge him as our master unless he knows how to intimate that far more lies behind than that which he has given us. Thus only can he keep our respect while he awakens our admiration.

Italian. Alas, poor Michelangelo! I see that his chance is small with such ultra-purists as you Greeks. And yet I could show you certain Greek statues made after you were dead and buried, which are quite as open to criticism as his Moses, and for like defects. Such are Glycon's Hercules at Naples, and the bronze Hercules in the Vatican, whose semi-divinity shows itself in the display of mighty muscles and sinews; and the Laocoön, a group of three figures writhing in the coils of the snakes sent by Apollo to punish him, and —

Greek. Softly, my friend; your examples are ill chosen, for they have no bearing on the question. I have never seen the works of which you speak, but it is evident from your description of them that the degenerate Greeks who sculptured them had lost the lofty ideal of Phidias, and had fallen into the faults of your modern schools. In my day, which closed soon after that exquisite Balustrade was added to the Temple of Victory at Athens in commemoration of the trium-

phant return of Alkibiades from Asia Minor, ideal beauty was the great object of art, and any distortion of the features or twisting of the limbs, would not have been tolerated. Phidias and his scholars considered that the highest beauty was the beauty of the Eternal, which being the expression of perfect goodness and almighty power must be serene. Their aim was to embody it in human forms of perfect proportion and exquisite outline, absolutely harmonious as units, and relatively so in the relation of their parts to each other. Our greatest sculptors were always careful to adapt form to subject; so were our architects, by using different styles for the temples of each of the great gods; and our composers, by employing different modes for hymns in honor of Zeus or Athena or Aphrodite. This precious observance, which is indispensable to harmony in a work of art, seems to have been set aside by the sculptor of this statue, which, as representing a seer among his people, should neither have had the limbs of an overgrown giant nor the swollen muscles of a pugilist.

Italian. "Per Bacco," my friend; if you go on in this way I half fear that you will convert me to your way of thinking, and this, to tell you the truth, I cannot run the risk of. After all, I am a man of the nineteenth century, who, like my fellows, have not been brought up to hold such strict notions about art as were held by the Greeks of your day and generation, and so had perhaps better keep to my faith in Michelangelo's Moses, which, to tell the truth, now that I look at it again, does not seem to me quite what it was before you filled my brain with ideas which I do not more than half understand. I feel already that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing; so "Addio, caro mio." By and by, when I have forgotten you and your antiquated ideas, I shall come back here again with the hope of seeing this statue as I used to see it.

Here we may dismiss our disputants, persuaded that no amount of reasoning could reconcile them, or, in other words, that the Moses, if judged by antique canons, is open to criticism. If, however, we drop the Phidian ideal, and look at it from a modern point of view, we

feel its power and grandeur. In judging it we should not forget that we see it under the greatest disadvantages, on a level with the eye, instead of at a height of fifteen feet from the pavement, as the artist intended. It is as if an orator standing within a few feet of us should pitch his voice as if he were addressing us from a distance. Stunned and perplexed, we should lose all power of appreciating his ideas. This remark applies, however, solely to the pose, proportions, and general effect of the figure, for it cannot be denied that, as Michelangelo meant that it should be seen at a considerable distance, the elaborate finish of its surface was a waste of labor, calculated to diminish its effect. The greatest of ancient sculptors, Phidias, and the most scientific of modern sculptors, Donatello, avoided this error, into which Alcamenes at Athens and Michelangelo at Florence both fell. It was not until the latter grappled with the same question in treating the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel that he learned after one failure to calculate finish and expression in correct ratio to the fixed distance between the spectator and the object offered to his sight. With all its defects the Moses is, however, original, grandiose, and thoroughly characteristic of the master; but this is not the case with the statues of Rachel and Leah, or Active and Contemplative life, which fill the niches to its right and left.[19] The original suggestion for these figures is to be found in Dante (*Purgatorio*, c. XXVII. v. 101), but his beautiful verses roused no corresponding image in the artist's mind. Dante's Leah culls flowers to make a garland. "For the sake of that enjoyment which I shall have in beholding my God face to face, I thus exercise myself in good works." Her delight is in admiring in a mirror, that is, in the Supreme Being, the light or knowledge that he has vouchsafed her. Thus she combines in herself active and contemplative life, a double subject which Michelangelo divided between Leah, who holds a mirror and a wreath of flowers, and Rachel, who gazes

[19] There is no doubt that Michelangelo modelled and finished these statues. "Ne forni due di mia mano, cio è la Vita contemplation e' l'attiva." Letter dated February, 1545, written to Mº Salvestro da Montanto, No. CDXLV.

upwards as if in prayer. Like the figures of the Medici monuments, but without their redeeming qualities, these statues fail in precision of idea; nor have they any of that grandeur about them which elevates the mind, even if it fails to enlighten it.

A Prophet and a Sibyl by Raffaele da Montelupo, with both of which Michelangelo was greatly discontented, four terminal figures, the Papal arms, and other details not necessary to mention, complete the decoration of a sepulchre conceived by ambition, nursed in disappointment, and finished when the will and power of him who had planned it on a mighty scale were weakened by age and trouble. Take away the Moses which belonged to the original design, and there is nothing which any second-rate sculptor could not have designed and carried out. And for this poor result what a world of trouble, annoyance, humiliation, and pain had one of earth's greatest and noblest sons suffered. It was a cross long borne upon those strong shoulders of his, never wholly lifted off, and sometimes pressing upon them with crushing weight. Condivi calls the history of this monument a tragedy, and with ample reason, for it is not only unutterably sad as studied in its result, but in its every detail. With it are connected the delays and hesitations of Julius, varied by outbursts of anger and threats of punishment; the opposition of Leo, leading to months of exile at Carrara and Seravezza, to endless journeys and troubles with the Duke of Massa and the quarrymen and the boatmen; the accusations of dishonesty, the delays in payment of dues for work commissioned and completed, the constant change of plans,

Fig. 18.

and a thousand other painful circumstances more easily imagined than described.

Among the statues known or supposed to have been intended for this monument, the two finest are the Prisoners at the Louvre. The sleeping prisoner (Fig. 18) perhaps symbolizes its sculptor's grateful recognition of that one avenue of escape which Nature offered to him. Thus to forget the burthens of life, the impediments of circumstance and the obstacles which stood between him and his lofty ideal, was to him an infinite relief. When himself a prisoner at Carrara, he wrote those lovely lines to Night, which one should have in one's mind whilst looking at this statue which embodies their spirit.[20]

"O Night, thou sweet though sombre space of time
(All things find rest upon their journey's end),
Whoso hath prized thee well doth apprehend;
And whoso honors thee, hath wisdom's prime.
Our cares thou canst to quietude sublime,
For dews and darkness are of peace the friend.
Often by thee in dreams upborne I wend
From earth to heaven, where yet I hope to climb.
Thou shade of Death, through whom the soul at length
Shuns pain and sadness hostile to the heart,
Whom mourners find their last and sure relief,
Thou dost restore our suffering flesh to strength,
Driest our tears, assuagest every smart,
Purging the spirits of the pure from grief."

In the waking Prisoner struggling to burst his bonds, Michelangelo may have symbolized those moments when the sun roused him to a consciousness of his own hopeless bondage. This, too, he expressed to Pope Julius in the bitter words,—

"I am thy slave, and have been from my youth."

Four other writhing captives in the grotto of the Boboli Gardens at Florence are supposed to belong to the monument, but they are so roughly blocked out in the marble that it is impossible to determine

[20] *Poesie di Michelangelo*, ed. da Casare Guasti. No. XLIV. p. 205. Translated by J. Addington Symonds. See his *Renaissance*, Vol. II. Appendix 2, p. 525.

whether they are not young men bearing garlands, intended to decorate the never erected façade of San Lorenzo.[21] In the pen-and-ink sketch of a portion of the monument at the Casa Buonarroti there is a winged Victory, which resembles the marble Victory at the Bargello, another powerful, half-defined shape which sets conjecture at defiance. She stands over the prostrate body of a man whose constrained attitude is similar to that of the so-called Adonis at the Uffizi. If, however, this statue is also one of the prisoners[22] and not an Adonis, why is the Boar's head thrust under his bent knees? The sculptor might perhaps have answered this question, but in default of his aid we must leave it unanswered, with many other inexplicable things in his statues. When he puzzles us, as he often does, we must remember that where other artists would have used a lump of clay, he used a block of marble, and if his idea did not afterwards seem worth working out clearly, turned from it with as little thought as if the material had been equally worthless. This reckless indifference to the value of a substance which had been quarried and brought within his reach at great expense, shows a mind disposed to rise above those reasonable but somewhat vulgar considerations by which most men are influenced. At the bottom of it lay that love of overcoming obstacles which was natural to Michelangelo. The soft and ductile clay wearied him by its very obedience to his will, whereas the resistance with which the solid block met his vigorous attack was an excitement and a stimulus to exertion, in itself a joy to his strong nature. Is it not possible that he also found some slight consolation for the constant opposition which he met with from his Papal masters, in the effort to overcome them, as he would have done had not their hearts been harder than marble? *That*, indeed, he could fashion as he would, but these were

[21] This is suggested by Mr. Heath Wilson, op. cit. p. 242. M. Guillaume (*Michel Ange, Sculpteur, Gazette*, p. 79), on the contrary, thinks the Boboli statues belong to the monument.

[22] So far as I am aware the idea that the Adonis is really one of the monument statues belongs to Mr. Wilson. (See p. 243, op. cit.) Not so the Victory, however, which he says (ibid.) is much too large.

made of a stuff against which the chisels of his will soon became blunted and useless. When he perceived this he obeyed their behests, and, throwing himself into the work which they gave him to do, temporarily forgot his disappointments.

Scarcely less magnificent as a scheme than the monument to Pope Julius, the Chapel of the Medici offered him an equally congenial field for the exercise of his powers. Already in 1524 the cupola had been raised upon the building, and in the following year the four reclining figures of the sarcophagi were in hand and somewhat advanced. The two monuments of which they form a part were not intended to be the only ones in the chapel, as they now are. Besides these of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, and of Giuliano, Duke de Nemours, there were to have been others, to Lorenzo the Magnificent (for which the Madonna and Child by Michelangelo, and the two statues of SS. Cosmo and Damian by his pupils, were destined), to Julian de' Medici his brother, to Leo X. and to Clement VII. The last three remained, so far as we know, entirely *in nubibus*, and the completion of the first two was long delayed by the political events which convulsed Italy and absorbed so much of Michelangelo's time and thoughts. He had already played many parts in his life, for some of which he had had but little preparation, but circumstances now forced him to undertake a new *rôle* for which he was even less ready than he had been for former experiments in untried fields of action.

The events connected with the siege of Florence, in which Michelangelo played an heroic part, were brought about by the crooked and vacillating policy of the Pope, which reduced him to dire straits, entailed inconceivable misery upon Rome, and eventually brought about the fall of the Florentine Republic and the restoration of the Medici. Clement was one of those men who are incapable of adhering to a line of policy, because they want faith in their own judgment, however deliberately formed. Instead of seeing that Charles V. was master of the situation, and that his own interests would be best forwarded by a firm alliance with the Imperialists, he repeatedly played fast and loose

with the Emperor, and at last joined the league formed against him between Francis I., the Venetians, and the English. When he found that the Papal States were exposed to invasion, and that his allies could give him but little material aid in such case, he patched up a too tardy truce with the Imperial Viceroy. It happened, however, that the Constable de Bourbon, who had shortly before gone over to the Emperor, had under him a fierce and undisciplined horde of Spanish and German freebooters clamorous for pay, and on fire with the idea of enriching themselves by plundering Florence or Rome. Unable to pay them otherwise, the Constable marched straight for Florence, but finding that city strongly fortified, and being, as it would seem, fully aware that Charles V. would not be sorry to see his slippery ally, the Pope, punished for his numerous tergiversations, he pushed on to Rome, and on the 5th of May, 1527, led his troops over the heights of Monte Mario and encamped in the valley of the Tiber.[23] Shut up in the castle of St. Angelo, and unable to move a finger in defence of the unfortunate city which was given over to the tender mercies of a pack of demons under his very eyes, the Pope, after a long imprisonment, eventually made his escape and took refuge at Orvieto. As soon as the news of these events was received at Florence, the republicans rose against the Papal authority, forced Cardinal Cortona the governor to abdicate, and joined the league. So strong was their determination not to submit to the restoration of the Medici, that they determined to resist single-handed. The League of Cambray formed between Charles V. and Francis I., and the truce between the Pope and the Emperor, left them no choice between the return of the Medici, and single-handed resistance. This they heroically decided to make, and in October, 1529, the city was invested by the Imperial troops. As this event had been for some time anticipated it did not find them wholly unprepared, and had all addressed themselves to the defence with the same single-hearted pur-

[23] Benvenuto Cellini, in his autobiography, gives a graphic account of the siege, which has been elsewhere so often described that we need only refer to it in order to recall its horrors to the reader.

pose as Michelangelo, who had been appointed commissioner-general on the first signs of danger, the siege of Florence might have been indefinitely prolonged if not eventually raised. There were, however, enemies within as well as without the walls. Malatesta Baglioni, captain-general of the Florentine forces, who should have been their shield and buckler, was a traitor at heart, and Michelangelo recognized him as such long before he actually betrayed his trust. Niccolo Capponi, the gonfaloniere, was also suspected of some understanding with the Pope, and although he lost his office on this account, had still great influence, which he used to oppose plans deemed of vital importance to the safety of the city.[24] Carducci, who succeeded Capponi as chief magistrate, was thought loyal to the Republic, but he disapproved of fortifying the hill of San Miniato; and thus dissension prevailed even among those who wished to do their duty.

Had Michelangelo been a trained military engineer his opinion would have had weight on this point; but he knew nothing of the science of defence, and had not even that sort of experience as a practical soldier which might have helped him to calculate the probabilities of attack or the best methods of repelling an enemy. His patriotism, his bravery, and his knowledge of military architecture which enabled him to draw plans of ditch and rampart well suited to the nature of the ground, were his only qualifications for the responsible office which his fellow-citizens had conferred upon him. These gave him courage to accept it, and once having accepted it, he felt that he had a right to have his plans considered. That, however, which distressed him more than all was his want of confidence in the good faith of some of those in power. He firmly believed that the Council of War desired to get rid of him when he was directed to go to Ferrara in order to study its fortifications and consult with the Duke Alfonso d'Este, who had a great military reputation; but this does not seem to have been the case. The Signory urged his immediate return, which was delayed about a month by a secret mission to Venice, of whose purpose we

[24] Gotti, Vol. I. p. 184.

have no record. After its accomplishment he returned to Florence and resumed his work upon the fortifications. But hardly had he done so, when he suddenly abandoned his post, and with one companion fled to Venice, firmly intending to go thence to France and seek a position under Francis I. No one who knows the character of Michelangelo can for an instant believe, what indeed his subsequent conduct entirely refutes, that his flight was caused by personal fear. It is evident that, having vainly striven to convince the Council of the treasonable intentions of Malatesta Baglioni, he shook the dust of Florence from his feet, and with bitter feelings of despair and disappointment left her to her fate. In a letter which he wrote from Venice to Battista della Palla he clearly states that his departure from Florence had been suddenly resolved upon. The answer was an appeal to his patriotism which he could not resist, especially as it followed close upon the heels of a messenger who brought him a passport from the Signory of Florence, and letters which showed him that not only his personal friends, but many of his fellow-citizens, had unshaken confidence in his ability to help them in their hour of need. Returning to the post of danger, he was received with a general joy which must have soothed and fortified his wounded spirit;[25] but, though he was now allowed to fortify San Miniato as he had wished to do from the first, his mind was ill at ease. The traitor was busy at his work, and the end was not far distant. On the 12th of August, 1530, Baglioni, throwing off the mask, admitted the Imperial troops within the Roman gate, and shortly after, the despicable Alessandro de' Medici was appointed Governor of Florence by Imperial decree.

For some time after the raising of the siege Michelangelo, knowing that little mercy was to be expected from the Pope towards a rebel like himself, lay concealed in the house of a friend; but when Clement's need of him got the better of his anger, and a promise of pardon

[25] Unlike that of other persons who had fled from Florence, his property had not been confiscated after the decree of banishment had been issued against him. This was repealed on his return, and the only penalty which he incurred was the loss of his right to sit in the Grand Council for three years to come.

in case of reappearance and submission, was circulated, he issued from his hiding-place and resumed his work upon the Medici monuments. He had employed his rare moments of leisure during the siege in painting a picture of Leda for the Duke of Ferrara, in sketching a group of Sampson smiting a Philistine, and a young Apollo drawing an arrow from his quiver; but it is morally certain, from what we know of him, that his loyal hand had dealt no chisel-stroke for the Medici while he was working to prevent their return to power. In 1527, when he ceased to work upon the Chapel monuments, the four recumbent figures were blocked out and a portion of this architectural background was completed; but when he again took them in hand after the siege, a great deal remained to be done, and his state of health was such that it seemed more than doubtful whether he would ever do it. "He is so ill," writes his pupil, Antonio Mini, "that he cannot live unless he can be persuaded to take care of himself." "Suffering from loss of sleep and appetite, subject to headache and attacks of vertigo, and distressed by the condition of his beloved Florence," his feelings would have broken his heart had they not found an outlet in poetry and sculpture. In these so-called figures of the Medici he embodied his own moods and thoughts, and this is the reason why they are so difficult of interpretation. It is difficult to conjecture why Giuliano, titular Duke de Nemours and brother of Leo X., who was an insignificant person, and Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, son of Piero and father of Catharine de' Medici, who was a dissolute and unprincipled man, were chosen to represent the family of Clement VII., unless because both had governed Florence.[26] Neither of them was a representative man in any sense. Of the two, Giuliano was the more interesting to Michelangelo, as he had elevated tastes, which led him to cultivate the society of literary men and of artists; but his statue gives no indication of this side of his character. It is that of a military hero, although he did nothing as a soldier or a leader to entitle him to be so regarded.

[26] Giuliano, from the restoration of the Medici until the elevation of Leo X. to the Papacy; and Lorenzo, from 1513 until his death in 1519.

Can we come to any other conclusion than that Michelangelo, who knew him thoroughly, failing to find in the real man any element of greatness worthy of embodiment, substituted an abstract being in his place? If he did so when dealing with Giuliano, we cannot wonder that he also ignored Lorenzo's personality as being even less worthy of his regard.[27] We may, then, dismiss both Giuliano and Lorenzo from our minds when we enter the Medici Chapel, and regard their statues as purely abstract conceptions. The finer of the two is well called "Il Pensoso," — the Thinker (tail-piece, Chapter VI.), — for, as he sits with the forefinger of his left hand pressed upon his lip as if to command silence, with his face darkened by the projecting visor of his helmet, he looks the very personification of all-absorbing thought. Thus when the struggle was over, brooding in silence over those evil times for his country and himself, which he had in vain striven to set aright, did the sculptor sit, groaning in spirit as he remembered the wrongs of Florence, or thought bitterly of the hard fate which doomed him to be the puppet and slave of popes and dukes, or pondered over the great problems of life, — Whence do we come? Whither do we go? Why must we suffer? then, wearied with the effort to solve the unsolvable, he would turn to the conception of a statue or a picture or a sonnet, seeking rest and finding none.

Select whichever subject you will as that which may have weighed upon him at such times, and it will suit the Thinker at San Lorenzo.

[27] This unprincipled and ambitious man, whose influence over his brother Leo X. was altogether for evil, desired, like Cæsar Borgia, to carve out a principality for himself in the heart of Italy, by uniting Siena, Lucca, and the Duchy of Urbino under his rule; but failing to induce the Pope to favor the rash attempt, he returned to Florence, where he died of his excesses in 1519, leaving a daughter known in history as Catharine de' Medici, and an illegitimate son, the infamous Alessandro, who was to die by the avenging dagger of his cousin Lorenzino, and be buried in the same sarcophagus with his father in the Medici Chapel. The statues of Dawn and Twilight were not placed upon the lid until after Alessandro's assassination (March, 1536) and burial. The sarcophagus was opened in March, 1875, and found to contain the two bodies, which, having been fully identified, were shamelessly treated, and thrown back "a confused pile of bones." See Wilson, Appendix, p. 565.

You ask what he is thinking of. If you would know, read the life of Michelangelo. He was an artist, and he was ever thwarted in his work; he was a patriot, and he saw his country crushed; he was religious, and he lived among scoffers; he was full of kindly affections, and he lived alone in sadness until, to use his own words,

"Par che amaro ogui mio dolce io senta."

Thus interpreted, the Lorenzo has a far greater interest and significance than the Giuliano, which has too little distinctive character to give us any clue to the artist's meaning.[28] The head is spirited and handsome, the pose effective, but there is little depth in the face, or significance in the attitude (tail-piece, Chapter V.). The magnificent figures of Day and Night upon the sarcophagus below it, would seem better suited to the Thinker, waiting in a night of doubt and perplexity, for the coming of the day, than to the warrior, with whom they seem to have no connection. Taken with the Dawn and Twilight, they are commonly interpreted as a pale allegory of the flight of time, which, as touching the interests of Florence, was to pass from the twilight and night of her evil days to the dawn and full day of better times. This interpretation would be satisfactory as connecting the four figures with Florence and her fate, did we not know that all four figures were blocked out four years before the siege began, so that they cannot allude in any way to events resulting from it.[29] Equally unsatisfactory is the explanation which makes Lorenzo, as represented in the "Pensoso," a victim to remorse.[30] Machiavelli had indeed, at one time, counted upon him to effect the national deliverance, but this was an idea which certainly never crossed his brain. Had Michelangelo

[28] Wilson says that Giuliano is here "represented as an incompetent leader, the face mindless; the hand with the baton of command listless and feeble, the other filled with the purchase money of treason," — a coin held in the left as if to bribe the enemy. — Op. cit. p. 391.

[29] In a letter of 1525, dated October 24, and addressed to Messer Giovanni Fattucci, Michelangelo speaks of the four figures as blocked out, but not yet finished. He began them in February, 1524.

[30] Niccolini, *Essay on the Sublime and Michelangelo.*

supposed him capable of regretting that he had not merged his selfish aims in so noble an enterprise, he would have given his face a remorseful expression, instead of making it depressed and melancholy, as it is, and we therefore return to our previous idea, — that the statue is a personification of the artist's desolate and brooding spirit, that the Night expresses his longing for repose, and the Day (see tail-piece to this Chapter) that reaction against despair which proved that, though sometimes cast down by all the evils which surrounded and oppressed him, he had within him an undying energy. The figure is that of a Titan rousing himself for action. With superhuman strength it lifts itself above the lid of the sarcophagus, as the sun at dawn above the horizon. While by its vague grandeur it reminds us of such shapes as we sometimes see in cloud-cumuli towering against the evening sky, the undefined nature of its forms allows free play of the imagination, and gives us a certain sense of companionship with the sculptor, with whom we seem to be working towards completeness. Often, as in this statue, Michelangelo stayed his hand when approaching his ideal, because with every fresh stroke he feared to lose ground. He had dealt his sturdy blows upon the marble without placing a point, or stopping to calculate whether it was broad enough or long enough to hold his thought; then he paused to reflect, doubt followed, and as his

> "Fears, like the needle verging to the pole,
> Trembled, and trembled into certainty,"

his ardor cooled, and he turned away a sadder if not a wiser man.

The quarries of Carrara and Seravezza must have been as exciting to him as the sound of a trumpet to a war-horse, for their white blocks offered him a limitless range of possibilities; but his enthusiasm cooled with possession, and he often dropped the chisel before he had half worked out the intended form. The exceptions are such highly finished works as the "Pietà," the Moses, and the Night of the Medici Chapel. Unlike the Day, this sleeping giantess is completely and most elaborately worked out in the marble. She lies upon the opposite end of the sarcophagus with her head drooping towards her left shoulder in

an attitude which, were it possible, would hardly allow repose. A star between two moon-horns (*cornua noctis*) rests above her forehead; a mask, the symbol of dreams, lies near her left arm; and a bunch of poppies at her feet.

"The Night which thou beholdest, bound in deep
And sweet repose, an angel's hand did hew
Out of this rock, and, though she is asleep,
Breathes: doubt'st thou? Wake her, she will speak to you.
Whereto, in language we may never match,
The grief-worn patriot gave sublime reply:
'T is well to slumber, best to be of stone,
While shame endures and Florence is not free;
So lest I waken, ah! subdue thy tone:
Methinks 't is blessed not to hear nor see.'"[31]

These lines to the Night were written in 1531, the year after the submission of the city to the Medici, and it is to the grief which he feels for her slavery that the sculptor plainly alludes in his answer; but the statue expresses that desire for repose, that love of the dark hours which bring

"Sleep, that knits up the ravelled sleeve of care,"

which he felt when he wrote the Sonnet to the Night, and sculptured the Prisoner at the Louvre. In presence of the Thinker and the Day, the Night, grand as it is, pales its fires; but all three so far surpass the Aurora and the Twilight that where they are we cannot think of them. In the unfinished group of the Madonna and Child Michelangelo is himself again. It reminds us of the Taunton Madonna in the National Gallery, but it is stamped with a grander and more mature feeling.

Splendid as are the powers displayed in the Medicean monuments,

[31] These well-known lines, left by Giovanni Strozzi in the sculptor's studio during his absence, and the reply of Michelangelo, are here given as translated by Dr. T. W. Parsons at the conclusion of a short poem called the "Birthday of Michelangelo," written for the celebration of its four hundredth anniversary by the Women's Club at Boston, and reprinted in Appendix B by the kind permission of its author.

they explain the deleterious influence of Michelangelo upon the rising generation of artists. Unable to seize his spirit, they attached themselves to those qualities of exaggeration which impair his style, and, like the frog in the fable, burst from over-dilation. The pretentious grandeur of their works makes their weakness conspicuous. After a Michelangelo, a Bandinelli was inevitable. His Hercules and Cacus,[32] with its blustering vulgarity, its swollen muscles, and its back which Cellini compared to a sack filled with chestnuts, is an epitome of Michelangelo's defects. The immediate scholars of Michelangelo were not men of remarkable talent, like Bandinelli. Their best works, the SS. Cosmo and Damian, which flank the Madonna in the Medici Chapel, were executed under the master's eye, and with his direct assistance. He retouched the St. Cosmo of Fra Giovan Angelo Montorsoli, and modelled both the head and hands in clay,[33] and may have done as much for the St. Damian of Raffaelle da Montelupo,[34] whom he employed to finish the statues of Rachel and Leah for the tomb of Julius II. The dissatisfaction with which he regarded them is not to be wondered at, considering what they are as compared with what they might have been had he fulfilled his promise of finishing them himself, which he was prevented from doing by stress of occupation. In accepting them, Michelangelo drained the last drops of the bitter cup which Julius II. held to his lips.

Architecturally, the Medici Chapel is cold and uninteresting. Such effect as it has, is derived from the skill with which the monuments are connected with the architecture by the great sarcophagi, which are so placed that the heads of the grand allegorical figures upon them

[32] The block of marble which Bandinelli used for this group had been assigned to Michelangelo in 1528 by the magistrates of Florence for a group of Sampson slaying a Philistine.

[33] Montorsoli's bas-reliefs and statues at Genoa, Naples, and Messina have little individuality. See an account of them in *Tuscan Sculptors*, Vol. II. pp. 93–103.

[34] Other works of R. da Montelupo are the Prophet and Sybil on the tomb of Julius II. at San Pietro in Vincoli. For this artist's autobiography, see *Tuscan Sculptors*, Vol. II. pp. 72–85.

rise just above the line of the surbase running round the walls, and, by their combination with the portrait statues in the niches above them, form pyramidal compositions on either side of the chapel. It is unfair, however, to judge it from its present appearance. When the dome was decorated with arabesques, and it and the panels below it enriched with stucco-work by Giovanni da Udine, it doubtless wore a very different aspect.

CHAPTER IX.

"O noble statuaire!
Toi qui dans l'art profond, comme en un sanctuaire
Entras bien jeune pour n'en sortir jamais."—VICTOR HUGO.

AMONG Michelangelo's works is an unfinished bust of Brutus[1] (Plate IX.). The shape of the head fully corresponds to the expression of the face, which is stern, defiant, and resolute. The exact date of this work, and the circumstances under which it was commenced and abandoned, are not known,[2] but it was probably begun shortly before the assassination of Alessandro de' Medici, as a relief to feelings under whose influence the artist thought of Brutus only as a passionate lover of liberty, and given up when the dagger of the "Tuscan Brutus" laid that ignoble Cæsar low, and brought before him the nature of such a deed in all its heinousness. We know what Michelangelo thought of tyrannicide as a remedy for political evils by the words which he addressed to certain Florentine exiles at Rome a few years later, as reported in one of the dialogues of Giannotti.[3] They were discussing

[1] The bust, which is at the Uffizi, bears the following inscription:—

"Dum Bruto effigiem sculptor de marmore ducit
In mentem sceleris venit et abstinuit."

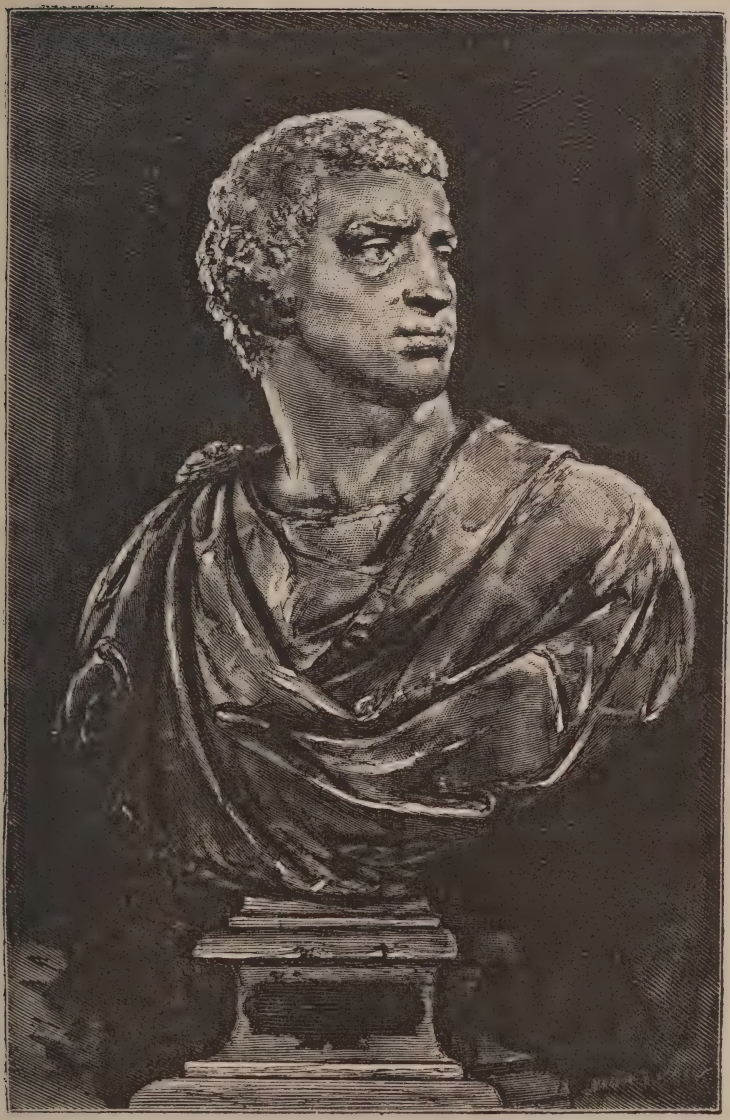
[2] Wilson (op. cit. p. 234) says it was begun for Cardinal Ridolfi.

[3] Donato Giannotti was a Florentine exile, a poet, and a great student of Dante, whose poetry often formed the subject of conversation between him and his friend Michelangelo. His dialogues written in 1545 (not included in the one edition of his works), from which Gotti (op. cit. pp. 251–254) gives long extracts, are about to be published, for the first

CHAPTER IX.

Michelangelo, 1534–1547.

Bust of Brutus	1536 ?	Uffizi, Florence.
The Last Judgment	1534–1541	Sistine Chapel, Rome.
Cornice, windows, and doorway	1546	Palazzo Farnese, Rome.
Works carried on at St. Peter's	1547–1560	St. Peter's.
Frescos in the Pauline Chapel	1549–1550	Pauline Chapel, Vatican, Rome.



the question as to why Dante consigned Brutus and Cassius to the jaws of Lucifer, and Michelangelo suggested that "perhaps the poet may have thought that Cæsar, had he lived, would have grown weary of absolute power, and, like Sulla, have reorganized the republic. If

time, by Le Monnier at Florence. They turn upon the question "whether Dante spent the night of Good Friday and all Saturday in visiting hell, and thence ascended from the centre of the earth to the surface of the other hemisphere; or whether, having consumed three whole days in his journey, he completed it on the evening of Easter Sunday." Michelangelo and Petreo, who is one of the interlocutors, are of the latter opinion. Michelangelo winds up his argument by reciting this, his first Sonnet to Dante, written in 1545, which we give in the excellent translation of Mr. J. A. Symonds, printed in his *Renaissance in Italy*, Vol. II. Appendix II. p. 515.

"From heaven his spirit came, and, robed in clay,
The realms of justice and of mercy trod,
Then rose a living man to gaze on God,
That he might make the truth as clear as day.
For that pure star, that brightened with his ray
The ill-deserving nest where I was born,
The whole wide world would be a prize to scorn;
None but his Maker can due guerdon pay.
I speak of Dante, whose high work remains
Unknown, unhonored by that thankless brood
Who only to just men deny their wage.
Were I but he! born for like lingering pains,
Against his exile, coupled with his good,
I'd gladly change the world's best heritage."

To this sonnet we add its companion (No. II. ed. Guasti, p. 155) translated with equal skill and elegance by Professor Charles E. Norton:—

"What should be said of him is past all count,
For too bright on the blind his splendors flame;
'T is easier for the folk who wronged to blame,
Than for great wit to his least praise to mount.
He went down to the punishment of sin
To do us service; then to God arose;
And while her gates to him doth Heaven unclose,
Hers doth his country shut, nor takes him in.
Country ingrate! I say; nurse of her own
Fortune to her harm; wherefore is truly sign
That to the best she most abounds in scorn.
'Mong thousand instances take this alone,—
That there was never exile so malign
For equal man, or greater ne'er was born."

so, those who killed him caused an irreparable evil, for his successors proved to be greater tyrants than himself, thus showing that tyranny does not always perish with a tyrant, and that assassination is often as fruitless as it is criminal. Something good," he added, "may be hoped for from a living prince, but no one can say whether any will result from his death. I detest those who think an evil deed can be the source of good. Times change, new chances arise, wishes vary, men grow weary, and thus beyond all reasonable hope the desired end may come about in the natural course of things, without the criminal agency of any one."

It was with some such reasonings as these that Michelangelo probably endeavored to comfort himself while residing at Florence during the latter part of Clement VII.'s reign. Alessandro de' Medici regarded him with suspicion and dislike, and had it not been for the Pope's protection might have proceeded to some overt act against him,[4] and anxious as he was to return to Rome on this account, and because he wished to fulfil his contract with the Duke of Urbino, it was impossible to do so, as the Pope ordered him, under pain of excommunication, to remain and devote his time wholly to the Medici Chapel and the Laurentian Library.[5] He was allowed to pay only one or two flying visits to Rome until September, 1534, when, having completed all necessary arrangements for the prosecution of the work at Florence by his assistants, he hurried to Rome and arrived there only two days before Clement breathed his last.[6] Condivi says that it was well for him that he was out of the Duke's reach; but it is clear that he was not afraid to trust himself within it, for he returned to Florence almost immediately to look after his workmen, who were thrown out of employment when within a fortnight of completing the ceiling of the Medici Chapel.

[4] The Duke was especially angered with Michelangelo because he refused to select a site for a fortress which he wished to build at Florence, with the view of overawing the people, and strengthening his government. To forge chains for tyrants' use was no work for a man like Michelangelo.

[5] A brief to this effect was issued on November 11, 1531.

[6] September 25, 1534.

The new Pope, Paul III., whose election took place in December, was a Farnese, and indifferent to the posthumous glory of the Medici. As little did he care for that of the Della Rovere, so that when he summoned Michelangelo back to Rome it was not to bid him finish the monuments of Lorenzo and Giuliano, and the Laurentian Library, nor to allow him to work upon the monument of Julius II., but to carry out a scheme conceived by his predecessor, which would reflect glory upon his own reign. He knew that designs for a fresco of the Last Judgment, to be painted in the Sistine Chapel, had been prepared for Clement's acceptance, and when he went to Michelangelo's studio to see them, it was with the determination that they should be used immediately.

Among the cardinals who accompanied him was his Eminence of Mantua, who, on beholding the Moses, declared it to be in itself a sufficient monument to Julius II. Seizing this idea, the Pope overruled the plea of Michelangelo that he must complete his contract with the Duke of Urbino before he could undertake to paint the Last Judgment, and promised to make the Duke content himself with the Moses and two other statues as a final arrangement. Preparations for the fresco were actively carried on during the following year, and he commenced it in September, 1534, as chief architect, sculptor, and painter to the Pope, with an annual salary of twelve hundred golden florins.[7] For the next seven years it occupied his thoughts, and formed the chief object of his labors. Regarded as his masterpiece by contemporary critics, those of our own time place it lower in the scale of his works than the stupendous frescos of the ceiling above it. Not that any sign of waning power is shown in it, either in conception or execution, but that the subject is one which demanded incompatible qualities for anything approaching adequate treatment. The Last Judgment, by Fra Angelico in the Academy at Florence, is the work of a painter who could conceive the joy of the redeemed, the rapture of the

[7] The brief by which he was nominated is dated September 1, 1535. The text is published by Gotti, op. cit. Vol. II. p. 123.

blessed, and the bliss of meeting between those whom death had parted for a season, and represent them in a technically imperfect manner which rather adds to the spiritual effect, but who was incapable of imagining, and still less of depicting, the terror and despair of lost souls, and the cruel joy of fiends who claim them as their rightful prey.

In Michelangelo's fresco, on the contrary, the inconceivable raptures of the last day, upon which the painter monk dwelt with an all-absorbing devotion, are incompetently treated, while its dread horrors, which Fra Angelico could not grapple with, are made so prominent that we think of them only when looking at it.

"Who is there," wrote Pietro Aretino, "that would not tremble and fear to dedicate his pencil to such a subject?"

"And I saw a great white throne, and Him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them.

"And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened which is the book of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works.

"And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works.

"And Death and Hell were cast into the lake of fire. This is the second death.

"And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire." — *Revelations*, xx. 11–15.

Never for a moment did Michelangelo propose to himself to translate these words of the Apocalypse into color and form. He neither trembled nor feared when he undertook to paint the Last Judgment, because it presented itself to his mind only as a subject which would afford unlimited opportunity for dealing with the naked human form in every variety of attitude, and swayed by every variety of emotion. No idea of the impropriety of stripping the angels of their robes of light occurred to him, and we are convinced that the outcry which was raised against the nudity of his figures as scandalous in a consecrated place — an outcry so general that Paul IV. at one time contemplated their destruction — only roused his contempt. To paint the human form

was his joy and delight. He filled the vast space with forms alike athletic, whether they belonged to the hosts of heaven[8] and the redeemed, or to the cruel, sensual, and powerful demons and their terror-stricken victims.

> "Down they fall,
> Driven headlong from the pitch of heaven, down into the deep,"

like the rebel angels in *Paradise Lost*. No words could more accurately describe the central figure of the upper portion of the Last Judgment than those of Milton, whose Christ resembles the Christ of Michelangelo so closely that reminiscences of the Sistine Chapel would seem to have been floating in his mind when he called him

> "The angry victor [who] hath not yet recalled
> His ministers of vengeance and pursuit
> Back to the gates of heaven."

He is "an angry victor," in every respect the antithesis of the dignified and stately Judge represented by the earlier masters, incapable of wrath even when meting out justice to sinners.

As a composition the Last Judgment is wonderfully clear. Though it contains an infinite number of figures,[9] all confusion to the eye is avoided by its division into four appreciable masses skilfully connected by isolated groups. The uppermost portion contains two groups of angels, one bearing the column of the Flagellation and the other the Cross of the Crucifixion. Below these are Christ and the Madonna with hosts of angels, holy men who died before His advent, saints and martyrs carrying the instruments upon which they suffered death for His sake. The blessed, who are caught up into the air to the right, connect this great host with that of the lost sinners who vainly struggle with demons to escape their doom.

[8] "When we consider that these frightful giants are representations of Christ and his saints, it does appear the greatest dereliction of propriety ever committed in art." — HAYDON'S *Correspondence and Table-Talk*, Vol. II. p. 152.

[9] Three hundred and fourteen figures, counting heads, and most of them are heads, or heads and shoulders only. — Wilson, op. cit. p. 431.

Other victims rise from their graves to the right of the cavernous mouth of Hell, while Charon,[10] standing in the stern of the Stygian boat, drives his trembling crew headlong over its prow into the bottomless pit.

Even when Milton visited Rome, about a century after the death of Michelangelo, the fresco had greatly suffered under the brushes of restorers,[11] and the smoke of torches and of incense; and with the lapse of two more centuries a far greater degradation has taken place. Stains and spots and retouched portions have destroyed all unity of tone, and made it but the shadow of its former self. Assisted as we are by Michelangelo's drawings of groups and single figures, we trace leading lines, and here and there make out forms and faces; but in many parts this is impossible. It is for the most part a ruin or a palimpsest. We can excuse those mediæval scribes who, ignorant of the value of a manuscript, buried its precious characters under their own worthless rubbish; but we can only cry shame upon the men who obliterated forms and outlines, of whose excellence they were fully aware. Owing to them and to other deleterious though irresponsible agencies, it is rather, as we have said, from drawings that we receive an impression of the power of Michelangelo's work than from what we can see of it in the chapel. Among these one called the Lost Soul (Plate X.) belongs to the same train of thought, and although not used in it, epitomizes its spirit. The eyes glare as if they saw "the

[10] "There was a time, it is said, when the eyes of Charon were the principal light in the picture, but now the spots in the sky eclipse them." — Sir Charles Eastlake. Haydon's *Correspondence and Table-Talk*, Vol. II. p. 152.

"The sky behind the demons is almost reduced to white by decay in some parts, while the devils retain their tremendous depth of tone, and are rendered, if possible, more terrific." — *Ibid.*, p. 152.

[11] During the reign of Paul IV. (1555–1559), Daniel of Volterra (Ricciarelli) was employed to drape certain figures, and thence got the nickname of "Il bragghetone," or "the breeches-maker." About 1566 Giulamo del Fano retouched the fresco in parts. In 1762, under Clement XIII., some "very mediocre painters" were employed for the same purpose under the direction of Pozzi, whose baroque frescos in the church of the Jesuits at Rome prove how unfit he was for such a task. — Paul Mantz, op. cit. p. 170.

grisly Terror," [12] which is Death, "the offspring of Satan and Sin." The hair rises like flames from the head, which seems ablaze with them. A wind-swept mantle enframes the countenance, which is full of fear, rage, and agony. The mouth opens to give forth a cry of pain, and the muscles of the throat stand out like whipcords. This is one of those souls which, tormented by the fall of "the dilated flakes of fire which rain down upon the sand-waste like flakes of snow on Alps, without a wind," live where

> "Sighs, complaints, and ululations loud
> Resound throughout the air without a star,"

and speak

> "Languages diverse, horrible dialects,
> Accents of agony, words of agony." [13]

It would seem as if Michelangelo, when he first painted in the Sis-

[12] "On the other side,
Incensed with indignation, Satan stood
Unterrified, and like a comet burned,
That fires the length of Opphiuchus huge,
In the arctic sky, and from his horrid hair
Shakes pestilence and war." — *Paradise Lost*, Book II.

[13] A drawing in red chalk of this head exists at the Uffizi. The heliotype plate is taken from a drawing in black chalk belonging to the author. The following letter received from Messrs. Paul and Domenico Colnaghi, from whom it was purchased in 1847, gives its history so far as it was known to them. "We bought the drawing by Michelangelo (of which we enclose the engraving by the celebrated Sharp), with the collection which belonged to the late Sir Thomas Lawrence of the proprietor, Mr. William Coningham, a well-known collector resident in England. The drawing has been celebrated for many years, it having belonged to Sir Joshua Reynolds, who, about a year or two before his death, lent it to Sharp, who desired to engrave it. The drawing was not claimed by Sir Joshua's executors, and remained with Sharp. After Sharp's death, it came into the hands of a dealer in London who purchased all Sharp's property, and by that man it was sold to Mr. Coningham, who, having just before become proprietor of the Laurence collection, wished to add the work in question to it. . . . . The Rev. Mr. Wellesley, who with Dr. Cramer is at the head of the committee appointed by the University of Oxford to purchase drawings for the University, gave us a most confident opinion of the originality of the drawing, — an opinion the more valuable as he is acquainted with the drawing at Florence. In conclusion we beg to add that this is the identical drawing engraved by Sharp," etc., etc.

tine Chapel, foresaw that twenty years later he would be called upon to paint the Last Judgment, for directly over the space which it was to occupy he placed Jonah, the type of the Resurrection.[14] As the pendentive divides the top of the fresco into two arches, this colossal figure strikes the eye as belonging to it, and the connection between them is thus made apparent. No other prophet could so well have occupied this place, for, as has been well remarked, the real subject of the fresco is the Resurrection and not the Judgment.[15]

Its prototype is the Last Judgment by Luca Signorelli at Orvieto.[16] Both painters made their subject a pretext for anatomical display, and both gave preponderating importance to that side of it which allowed of an almost exclusive treatment of the nude. Both lost sight of the merciful qualities of the judge, and inadequately conceived the joy of the redeemed; both sacrificed the spiritual to the material. Great as are the analogies between the two works in these respects, they are in others superficial, and in point of style null. Where Signorelli is meagre in his treatment of form, vehement in utterance, and mannered in action, Michelangelo is rich, powerful, and sublime. So abundantly did he endow the dry bones of his predecessor with life, that he can in no sense be said to have imitated him; and yet, as Signorelli gave the key-note to the conception of a subject which both treated, it is a question whether Michelangelo's originality is not more gravely compromised by the Last Judgment, at Orvieto, than Raphael's by the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. This criticism is, however, of no other value than to remind us that Michelangelo would have done well to remember what he himself owed to Signorelli when he said, "All that Raphael knows he owes to me."[17]

We do not wish to exaggerate Michelangelo's debt to Signorelli, or

[14] As Jonah lay for three days and nights in the belly of the whale, so did the body of our Lord lie in the rock sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea for a like space of time.

[15] Pater, op. cit. p. 65.

[16] Painted in 1499.

[17] "Che ciò che aveva dell' aerte, l' aveva da me." — *Lettera a Monsignore . . . . di Roma, Ottobre*, 1542. Milanesi, No. DCXXXV. p. 494.

to accuse him of conscious or unconscious imitation. We consider the coincidences between their two representations of the Last Judgment as due to an equally strong passion for representing the nude, which led them to conceive the subject in the same way, and this despite the great admiration which Michelangelo expressed for Signorelli's work, — an admiration which, as Vasari [18] naïvely expresses it, "led him courteously (*gentilmente*) to make use of some parts of it, such as angels, demons, etc., and even to imitate Signorelli's manner, as anybody may see." [19]

A closer critic might have noted that in his Last Judgment Michelangelo began to imitate himself. Instead of constantly recurring to nature to verify and correct his ideas after the living model, he often trusted to his memory, which, however prodigious, could not always be safely relied on. In the next decade of his life, though it had grown weaker both by reason of his greater age and diminished health, he trusted to it still more absolutely, and in the frescos of the Pauline Chapel became the mannered shadow of his former self. We shall not pause to search for veins of gold in this lump of quartz, we who have handled wellnigh unalloyed bars of the precious metal as it came forth from the mine of the artist's genius. Better write a volume upon the Prophets and Sibyls of the Sistine Chapel than five lines upon the Conversion of St. Paul, — "Guarda e passa." Michelangelo accomplished other work while he had the Pauline frescos in hand, and after he completed them, which showed that his mind could work vigorously in new directions if not as strongly in the old. As painter, his work has but a retrospective interest after the Last Judgment, and so also as sculptor,

[18] Vasari, Vol. VI. p. 142.

[19] That Michelangelo ever saw the fresco of Signorelli is not a matter of record. The two artists met at Rome about 1521 under circumstances which did not leave a very pleasant impression upon Michelangelo's mind. In a letter which he wrote to the Captain of Cortona (Gotti, op. cit. Vol. II. App. 9) he asked his assistance in recovering a sum of money which he had then been unwise enough to lend to Signorelli, who had borrowed it under the pretext that he was out of funds on account of his devotion to the cause of the Medici.

after the Moses and the tombs of the Medici; but as architect and poet, he rose in his latter years to new heights of distinction, and as a man grew daily in all qualities calculated to command respect and veneration.

In 1546 Michelangelo succeeded Antonio da Sangallo as head architect of St. Peter's Church, and completed his commenced restoration of the Palazzo Farnese by adding a fine cornice of classical design,[20] by building the great windows over its principal doorway, and by projecting a bridge across the Tiber to unite the Farnese with the Farnesina. These works were carried on simultaneously with those at St. Peter's, of which he received the official charge by papal brief issued on New Year's Day, 1547, when he was seventy-six years old. He accepted it, without salary, so that he might act with absolute independence, and he kept it until a few months before his death at the age of eighty-four, never faltering in the discharge of a duty which he looked upon as sacred. Neither the pressing invitations to visit Florence which he received from the Duke of Tuscany, nor the solicitations of his friend Vasari, availed to turn him from it. "I should

[20] Michelangelo's claims to the honor of having designed this cornice, which is rivalled only by that of the Palazzo Strozzi at Florence, are somewhat summarily dismissed by M. Ch. Garnier (op. cit. p. 196) on the ground that the details are too pure as compared with those of his other architectural works, and the effect too majestic. He thinks that Michelangelo did no more than indicate the mass of the entablature, leaving it to a more practical architect to work out the design. "If he did more, then it would have been impossible for him to have designed the Porta Pia, and the masks and mouldings of the Laurentiana." Might we not as well argue against the validity of his claim to have painted the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel by saying that, if he did more, then it is impossible to suppose that he painted the frescos of the Pauline Chapel? That he did design the cornice and all its details is, we think, certain, from the fact that he had a full-sized model in wood made at the request of the Pope, which was put in place in order to judge of the effect. This is mentioned in a letter written by Giovan Francesco Ughi (Gotti, op. cit. pp. 294, 310). So early as 1544 Michelangelo criticised Sangallo's design for this cornice, in a letter to Paul III., as ill-proportioned and inharmonious, and so convinced his Holiness of the fact that, to the great displeasure of Sangallo, he was appointed, together with Perino del Vaga, Fra Sebastiano del Piombo, and Vasari, to furnish designs, among which his own was preferred. See Gotti, op. cit. p. 290.

love," he writes to him, "to lay my bones near those of my father, as you urge me to do; but did I leave Rome at present, I should be the cause of great harm to St. Peter's, bring disgrace upon myself, and commit a grievous sin." [21]

Michelangelo's chief desire was to finish the building so far that no one could alter the design. Abused and opposed as he was by the Sangallo sect, he had no little reason to fear that this would happen in case he was removed by death before he had made a change of plan impossible; and he therefore remained at his post firm and unmoved, like a rock amid the breakers.

The position of an architect who is called upon to carry on a work projected by others and already far advanced, is at the best beset with difficulties. If the plan has been mapped out in all its details, and meets with his approval, he has, if he chooses to follow it, a comparatively easy task; but if, as was the case with St. Peter's, four eminent architects have preceded him, each one of whom has taken individual views in many respects opposed to his own, the endeavor to bring what has been done into harmony is a task of no little difficulty. This was increased in Michelangelo's case by the intrigues and unending hostility of Sangallo's partisans, against whom he could hardly have maintained his ground had he not had the Pope on his side, and had he not, by his refusal to accept money for his services, taken a position from which all their efforts could not dislodge him. To explain what he did for St. Peter's, it will be necessary to say a few words about what had already been done by his predecessors, Bramante, Raphael, Peruzzi, and Antonio da Sangallo. In his design, Bramante gave to his successors a masterly programme of an immense building adorned with niches and decorated with pilasters, which was to them an inexhaustible mine for study.[22] He established a new relation of niches

[21] See Letters CCCCLXXIII., LXXV., LXXVI., LXXXII., Milanesi, in all of which the same expressions occur.

[22] The medal struck by Caradosso, a Milanese goldsmith, in 1506, and a medal which commemorates the election of Leo X., give Bramante's façade.

and pilasters to each other and to the edifice of which he made them an integral instead of an accidental part, and — as in all the buildings of his second style, such as the Palace of the Cancellaria at Rome, and the little temple on the Janiculum, showed that feeling for harmony of proportion and elegance of line which gives his works a first place among those of the great Renaissance architects.[23] The ground-plan of St. Peter's as he designed it was a Greek cross, and it is not quite clear who among his successors first suggested the prolongation of the nave which fixed it in the Latin form; but if a drawing in the Barberini Library, attributed to Raphael, be really his work, the mistake is his. His reverence for Bramante, to whom he owed his knowledge of architecture and with whom he always maintained the most friendly relations, would rather incline us to believe Serlio's statement that he adhered to the Greek cross in his own design, as did Balthasar Peruzzi who succeeded him, and Michelangelo when he became chief architect of the building. Antonio da Sangallo had madè other changes which Michelangelo regarded as meretricious and faulty, such as the adding of a vast vestibule, and the placing of a double row of superposed columns around the base of the proposed cupola. Writing to Ammanati the sculptor[24] soon after his own appointment, he denounced Sangallo's plan, and in a somewhat exaggerated strain said that two hundred thousand scudi and three centuries of time would be saved by a return to that of Bramante, who was "as great an architect as the world has seen since the days of the ancients."[25] Holding this opinion, Mi-

[23] This celebrated architect was a native of Urbino or Castel Ducante. His work is divisible into two distinct styles, the so-called Bramantesque and the Roman, corresponding to two periods in his life, the first of which was passed in the North of Italy (1476–1500), and the second at Rome (1500). Among the best examples of his first style, at or near Milan, where he filled the office of engineer to the Duke Galeazzo Sforza, are the choir, the cupola, and the transepts of Santa Maria della Grazie, the church of San Satiro, which show how greatly he was influenced by the brick architecture of the Lombard period in the use of bold, ample, semicircular projections and high-standing cupolas.

[24] Milanesi, op. cit. Letter CDLXXIV. p. 535.

[25] "Any one," he writes, "who departs from Bramante's plan, like Sangallo, departs from the truth, and that this is so those whose eyes are not prejudiced can see in his

chelangelo conformed, as far as possible, to the intentions of Bramante in the construction of the pilasters, niches, cornices, and vaulted roof, and, as we know from the painting after his design at the Vatican Library, would have shaped it as a cross with equal arms; but Carlo Maderno, who completed the church in 1616, prolonged the nave, and thus caused the lofty attic to hide the dome from the view of those who approach the church from the Piazza. He also is responsible for the party-colored marble decoration of the interior which so greatly detracts from its grandeur of effect.

Three years after Michelangelo had assumed the direction of the works, the naves and transepts had been roofed in, the external elevation fixed, the two great stairways completed, and the foundations of the great piers under the dome, as well as the four arches upon which it rests, strengthened.[26] This was necessary, as his dome, instead of being a half-sphere, as projected by Bramante, was a double drum composed of two thin shells connected by interposed bands, like the famous dome of Brunelleschi at Florence.[27] "Io la faró piu grande si,

model." This model is preserved in the so-called octagon of St. Gregory, which is situated in the upper part of the basilica of St. Peter's. Gotti, note, p. 307. The façade shows an Ionic above a Doric order fifty-eight feet in height, crowned with a lofty attic.

[23] A rare engraving, representing a tournament in the court of the Vatican under Pius IV., not mentioned by Bartsch, but attributed to Jacob Binck by Passavant (*Le Peintre Graveur*), Vol. IV. p. 96, Appendix No. 3, shows the condition of St. Peter's about 1555. The arches and piers under the dome are visible through the open walls at the apsidal end of the church. The drum of the dome is about two thirds finished, the cupola not yet commenced. See Plate XII. Also Appendix E.

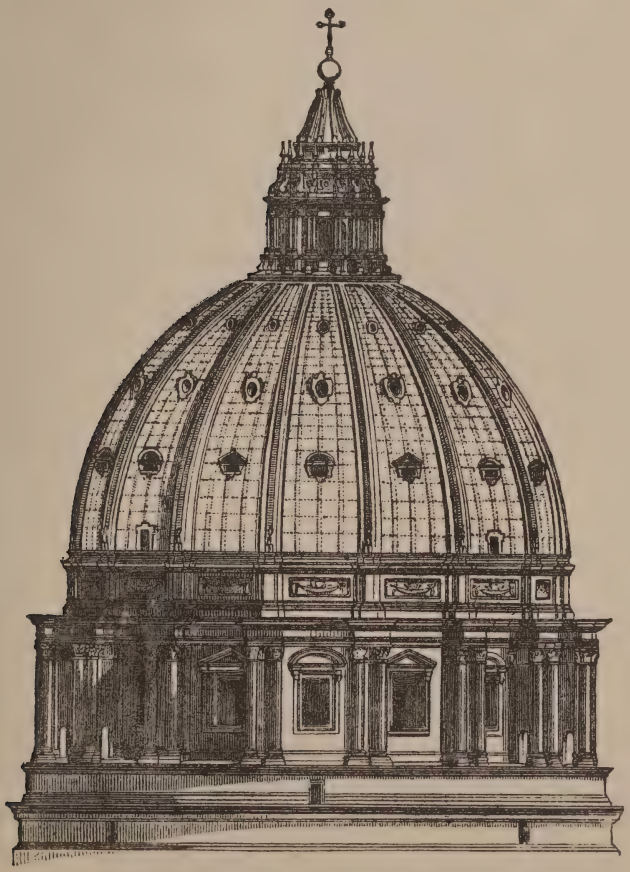
[27] So late as 1556, on his return to Rome after a short absence at Spoleto, Michelangelo, yielding to the solicitations of his friends, who feared that he might die and leave behind him neither drawing nor model of the cupola, made a small model of it in clay, and some working drawings. By the help of these Giovanni Franzese, one of his workmen, constructed the wooden model, sixteen feet high and twelve feet eight inches in diameter, now preserved at Rome in the Archivio della Fabbrica di San Pietro. Gotti (op. cit. Vol. I. p. 324) says that subsequent architects altered the exterior of the cupola, but that the interior is exactly as Michelangelo designed it. This is also stated by Milanesi, p. 333, Note 2 to Letter CCCII. Michelangelo refers in this letter, addressed to his nephew, to the model as about to be made.

ma non pia bella," he said, when asked if he hoped to surpass that admirable model. The result showed that he had underestimated his powers, for the dome of St. Peter's is not only larger, but finer in effect and more perfect in its proportions than that of its rival at Florence. At certain hours the flood of light which pours into the church from the sixteen windows with which it is pierced, streams like a banner of golden vapor across the chancel, bathing the great Baldacchino in its splendor (Plate XII.). Then if you look up into the dome which overhangs it, you will seem to be gazing into the spacious firmament, so vast, so luminous, and so lofty does it appear. Disturbed by many inharmonious details of ornament, fretted by the tortured and twisted draperies of the statues with which Bernini and his scholars have filled the surrounding niches, and intolerant of the white marble cherubs in medallions with which the great pillars of the nave are spotted, you have perhaps confessed yourself disappointed in the great basilica; but now, as you receive the full impression of this its chief glory, the part stands for the whole in your mind, and it becomes to you the paragon of churches.

It was a grand ending to a noble career, this crowning of the first of Christian temples with a Dome (see tail-piece), so loftily enthroned upon its pedestal that it is the first object seen by the traveller on his approach to Rome, and the last upon which his eyes rest when he leaves it. If you traverse the city until you reach its extreme limits, or drive miles away from its gates upon any of the great roads which cross the Campagna, so long as no hill intervenes to shut it out, so long will you see the mighty dome of St. Peter's, so long will you have the name of Michelangelo upon your lips.

At Rome, like this mighty creation of his genius, he is rarely out of sight. The Sistine Chapel, the Campidoglio, the Farnese Palace; the noble church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, which he shaped out of the ruins of Diocletian's Baths; the cypresses which he planted in the midst of the adjoining cloisters, where they mirror their sombre foliage in undisturbed waters; the deserted villa of Pope Julius III., near the Arco

Scuro, which he designed; the monument of Julius II. at San Pietro in Vincola, which cost him so many years of trouble and disappointment; the Pietà at St. Peter's which he sculptured; the Torso of the Belvidere which he so much admired; the Laocoön which he restored; the Porta Pia which he built; the house near the steps of the Capitol where he once lived; and the little church of San Silvestro on the Quirinal where he held converse with Vittoria Colonna, — these are but a few of the many objects which recall him to our minds as we tread the streets of the Eternal City.



CHAPTER X.

"There is something higher and more wonderful than St. Peter's or the Last Judgment, namely, the mind which flung those creations into the world."—DOWDEN.

OLD age, though brightened by the reflected splendor of a life spent in immortal labors, is sad to contemplate, unless, while the frame has lost its strength and the right hand its cunning, the spirit has grown strong through the steady contemplation of things beyond the reach of change. It was thus with Michelangelo, for, as he drew nearer and nearer to his end, his mind was more and more filled with thoughts of things heavenly. The burden of his later sonnets is ever, "Lord, be merciful to me a sinner"; and their never-ceasing aspiration, rest in the Eternal arms.

"Burdened with years, and full of sinfulness,
With evil custom grown inveterate,
Both deaths I dread that close before me wait,
Yet feed my heart on poisonous thoughts no less.
No strength I find in my own feebleness
To change or life or love or use or fate,
Unless thy heavenly guidance come, though late,
Which only helps and stays our nothingness.
'T is not enough, dear Lord, to make me yearn
For that celestial home, where yet my soul
May be new made, and not, as erst, of naught:
Nay, ere thou strip her mortal vestment, turn

CHAPTER X.

Michelangelo, 1547-1564.

Deposition from the Cross	1550	Cathedral, Florence.
Unfinished group of Deposition from the Cross	?	Palazzo Barberini, Rome.
Unfinished group of Deposition from the Cross	?	Palazzo Fevoli, Rome.

Death of Michelangelo, February 18, 1564.

ambition, avarice, or any other of the vices and sins which steal man from man, and keep him in an unsteady and thoughtless state of mind, unable to reflect and meditate. Wonderful is the effect of this thought of death, which, being itself destructive of all things, preserves and sustains those who think upon it, and defends them against all human passions. I remember that I have already pointed this out in one of my madrigals,[4] in which, talking of love, I concluded that nothing can protect us from it so completely as the thought of death."

When he was eighty-one years old he wrote two sonnets, — one of which we cite here, — and sent them to Vasari with a note, saying, "I do so that you may see *where I keep my thoughts*":—

"The fables of the world have filched away
The time I had for thinking upon God;
His grace lies buried 'neath oblivion's sod,
Whence springs a grievous crop of sins alway.
What makes another wise leads me astray,
Slow to discern the bad path I have trod:
Hope fades; but still desire ascends that God
May free me from self-love, my sure decay.
Shorten half-way my road from heaven to earth,
Dear Lord! I cannot even half-way rise,
Unless thou help me on this pilgrimage.
Teach me to hate the world so little worth,
And all the holy things I once did prize,
That endless life, not death, may be my wage."[5]

The above admirable translations will enable even those who are not conversant with the language in which these poems were written to appreciate their power, feeling, and ingenuity. Though often obscure in thought and rugged in form, they are full of fervor, quaint in conceit, and eminently vital. Vitality is perhaps their most striking characteristic, as it is that of the poet-artist's statues and paintings. As we read Michelangelo's verses we feel that we have been admitted into

[4] Madrigal XVI. Guasti, p. 41:—

"Non pur la morte, ma'l timor di quella."

[5] Sonnet LXVI. Translated by J. A. Symonds, op. cit. p. 526.

the innermost sanctuary of his nature, and know its aspirations, fears, hopes, and desires. In his own eyes he was "but a tyro in the art of poesy"; one who wrote verses "merely for his own pleasure and that of his friends"; but so he said he was no painter, and no architect, and yet he painted the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, and built the dome of St. Peter's. His contemporaries showed that they considered him a true poet by placing the statue of Poetry with those of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting upon the steps of the temporary monument which they erected at S^ta^ Croce at the time of his funeral obsequies; and the many ways in which eminent literary men of his own and succeeding generations have labored to make his poems known to the world, prove past and present appreciation of their merit. While he was yet living Berni declared them to be a mine of Platonic philosophy, Donato Giannotti praised them for their Dantesque form, and Benedetto Varchi read an elaborate essay before the Florentine Academy upon that finest of his sonnets, "Whate'er conception a great artist fires." Several of the madrigals were set to music by contemporary composers, among whom were Archadelt, a Flemish musician settled at Rome; Costanzo Testa, a Roman; and Tromboncino, a Veronese.[6] In 1623 the collected poems were first published, with revisions by his namesake and grand-nephew, Michelangelo the younger, prefaced by two admirable essays from the pen of Guiducci.[7] Poets of our own day, among whom are Wordsworth, Southey, Longfellow, and Symonds, have translated some of the finest sonnets and madrigals into English, and with wonderful success, considering the difficulties involved.

Among the sonnets, those addressed to Vittoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescara, that dear and trusted friend whose influence over him during his latter years was paramount, are perhaps the most widely known and most deservedly celebrated. Often as the story of their friendship

[6] Two of these madrigals, for four voices, are given in Gotti's second volume, pp. 99 and 110. See ibid. p. 89, Letter of Leto Puliti.

[7] This first edition has now been superseded by that of Cesare Guasti (1863), in which they are given both in their original and amended forms, together with a valuable preface, and the essays of Varchi and Guiducci.

has been told, it cannot be passed over by any one who undertakes to write about Michelangelo, so important were its bearings upon his mental and spiritual development. The period of his life during which he lived in almost daily intercourse with this "lady both great and good," corresponds to the Indian summer in our late autumn season, which beneficently stays the winter's coming, and, as it sheds its warm glow over the landscape, cheats us into the belief that ice and snow are illusions, and cold blasts not inevitable evils. Their friendship began between 1536 and 1538, when Michelangelo was frequently at Rome, though possibly a few years earlier.[8] Vittoria Colonna[9] was then living, by Papal permission, in the convent of "San Silvestro in Capite," where she had taken refuge after the death of her ever-lamented husband, Alfonso d'Avalos, on the battle-field of Pavia, with the intention of taking the veil. Being unable to obtain the Pope's consent to this step, she contented herself with a life of seclusion in a religious house at Rome or Viterbo, where she could "weep, pray, study, and write poetry, and whence she could lend a helping hand to the needy." In these pious, intellectual, and charitable exercises she passed the remainder of her existence, cheered by frequent converse with the great artist, between whom and herself existed "a firm friendship and a most unchangeable affection, bound in a Christian knot."[10] The topics discussed at their interviews were, for the most part, of a religious nature, but occasionally, as we are told by François de Hollande,[11] art and

[8] Gotti (op. cit. Vol. I. p. 231) says they met as early as 1532.

[9] Daughter of Fabrizio Colonna and Agnese da Montefeltro.

[10] Letter from Vittoria Colonna to Michelangelo, dated July 20, 1546.

[11] François de Hollande, the painter, was an art pensioner of Don Giovanni III., King of Portugal, at Rome. The authenticity of his manuscript diary, written in 1549 and first published by Count Raczynski in a work entitled *Les Arts in Portugal* (Renouard, 1846), cannot reasonably be called in question; and, so far as the fact of his being Michelangelo's friend goes to prove it, is substantiated by a letter dated Lisbon, August 15, 1553, preserved in the Buonarroti archives, which was written by François to the great artist six years after he left Rome. (See Gotti, op. cit. Vol. I. p. 245.) "I write," he says, "that I may not lose your friendship, begging you to let me know how you are in these your days of old age, in which I am sure you do not fail to exercise yourself in less laudable

philosophy also engaged their attention. Valuable as the diary of the Portuguese painter is as the only record of Michelangelo's opinions upon subjects connected with his profession, it does not compare in interest with his own letters and sonnets to the Marchesa, which, in language perfectly suitable to their respective rank and age, tell us of his deep attachment to her, and prove the great influence which she had in shaping his religious opinions.

Knowing what a foothold the Reformers had gained in Italy at a time when, as stated in the rescript of Clement VII., both the laity and the clergy were affected by Lutheran doctrines, and having the testimony of Giannone as to the powerful effect of the sermons of Valdez, the Spaniard, and Ochino, the converted Capuchin friar, upon many men and women of high rank, we cannot doubt that Michelangelo shared the general feeling as to the necessity of a radical reform in the Roman Catholic Church, and looked, like them, upon the calamities which had fallen upon Rome and Florence as direct judgments of Heaven for the corrupt lives of the clergy and the abuses of the Papal court. Though he does not recant any of the Romish dogmas in his letters or his sonnets, some of the latter are Protestant in spirit, in so far as they directly appeal to Christ for pardon and aid. The seventy-third sonnet,[12] for instance, written while he was painting a picture of the Crucifixion, illustrates this point forcibly: —

"Freed from a burden sore, and grievous load,
Dear Lord, and from this wearying world untied,
Like a frail bark I turn me to thy side,
As from a fierce storm to a tranquil land.
Thy thorns, thy nails, and either bleeding hand,

works of heroic virtue than those which do your hands immortal honor in the art of painting. For the great love which I have of rare things, and especially for those executed by your noble self while I was at Rome, I beg you to do me the great favor to send me one of your drawings, as a remembrance of your works, even if it be but a line or a profile like that made by the ancient Apelles, so that it may be to me an evidence of your health, and also a substantial memorial of our friendship."

[12] Guasti, op. cit. p. 246. Translated by J. A. Symonds, op. cit. p. 257.

With thy mild, gentle, piteous face, provide
Promise of help and mercies multiplied,
And hope that yet my soul secure may stand.
Let not thy holy eyes be just to see
My evil part, thy chastened ears to hear,
And stretch the arm of judgment to my crime:
Let thy blood only love and succor me,
Yielding more perfect pardon, better cheer,
As older still I grow with lengthening time."

Valdez and Ochino preached the same dependence of man upon God through Christ, and, with an eloquence which, as the Emperor Charles V. said, "was enough to make the stones weep," declared the Bible to be the source of all truth. By its light they set forth the true view of justification by faith, purgatory, and the Papal power, about which their hearers had hitherto accepted the dicta of Roman Catholic theologians. They spoke at Naples before vast audiences made up of people of all ranks, among whom two of the most conspicuous for a time were Giulia Gonzaga and Vittoria Colonna. In Fra Ochino they recognized one of those men whom God sends into the world from time to time to rouse those who sleep, and to revive the drooping spirits of those who are fainting by the roadside. "His age, the austere tenor of his life, the roughness of his dress, his long beard falling below his breast, his gray hairs, his pallid and wasted visage, and a certain appearance of infirmity and weakness affected with much art, together with the general opinion as to his sanctity, caused him to be looked upon as an extraordinary man. Not only the people, but the greatest sovereigns and nobles, revered him as a saint, went to meet him on his arrival, received him with the utmost honor and every possible mark of affection, and escorted him on his road when he departed." [13] "You ask me," writes Vittoria Colonna to one of her correspondents, "about Fra Bernandino of Siena (Ochino), and I answer that he has left behind him in Milan a name so good, and such universal contrition,

[13] Bishop Graziani's description of Fra Ochino, quoted by Tiraboschi. Stria della Lett. It., Vol. VII. p. 370.

that all esteem him to be a truly Christian man. May it please God," she adds, "to let him persevere in his work." [14] This letter was written before Fra Ochino concluded to return to Geneva, instead of giving himself up to the court of Rome, which would have amounted to voluntary martyrdom. By so doing he left those who had been half won over to his religious opinions exposed to strong counter influences, which in many cases availed to win them back to their former state of unquestioning obedience to the Roman Catholic Church. The Marchioness of Pescara seems to have been one of these, if we may judge by her letter to Pope Marcellus IV. in which she writes, "It grieves me deeply that the more he [Fra Ochino] endeavors to excuse, the more he accuses himself; and the more he thirsts to save others from shipwreck, the more he exposes them to the deluge, being himself an outcast from the ark which saves and assures."

To put down the fast-spreading contagion of reform, Rome used her wonted weapons. In 1542 Paul III. organized the inquisition and the censorship; the faint-hearted were terrified into submission by threats of confiscation and banishment, and the city where Leo X. and his cardinals had so lately smiled when they heard men doubt the existence of a God and the immortality of the soul, now saw Jews and heretics burned for non-acceptance of Romish dogmas.

We shall never know how much Michelangelo was affected by Protestant ideas, but that they found some favor in his sight seems not improbable, if we reflect that in his youth he had learned from Savonarola to look upon the Bible as the reformers did, to regard the state of the church as corrupt, and that during his long residence at Rome he afterwards had ample opportunity of convincing himself of the necessity of extensive reforms.

In those early days he had also learned, by study of the philosophy of Plato, to aspire to the beautiful and the good as emanations from a Divine but vaguely defined source. This sufficed him until, captivated by the beauty and the genius of Vittoria Colonna, and filled with

[14] Tiraboschi, op. cit. Vol. VII. p. 372.

reverence for her piety, he was brought into sympathy with her religious views, and found the peace for which his soul yearned. The following sonnet shows how absolutely he gave himself up to her guidance, and how fully he relied upon its efficacy:—

"As one who having lost the light of heaven
Bewildered strays, whatever path he takes,
I, lady, to your sacred penmanship
Present the blank page of my troubled mind,
That you in dissipation of my doubts
May on it write how my benighted soul
Of its desired end may not so fail
As to incur at last a fatal fall.
Be you the writer who have taught me how
To tread by fairest paths the way to heaven."

Many and ingenious are the conceits and quaint are the metaphors used by Michelangelo in his poems to express his deep feelings of tender affection for the noble guide and friend who blessed his life. "As the stone when an intaglio is cut upon it becomes more precious than it was in its natural state, so am I of greater worth since your image has been graven on my heart. When a sculptor would give shape to an idea, he makes a model in some vile material, such as clay or wax; then he puts it into marble and assures its immortality. So I, born but the model of my future self, have been re-formed and re-made by you, O lofty and noble lady, in more perfect form."

A still more abstruse and curious comparison forms the subject of his fifteenth sonnet, here given in a new and admirable translation:—

"Nothing the greatest artist can conceive
That every marble block doth not confine
Within itself; and only this design
The hand that follows intellect can achieve.
The ill I flee, the good that I believe,
In thee, fair lady, lofty and divine,
Thus hidden lie; and to make ruin mine,
Art of desired success doth me bereave.
Love is not guilty then, nor thy fair face,
Nor fortune, cruelty, nor great disdain

Of my disgrace, nor chance, nor destiny,
If in thy heart both death and love find place
At the same time, and my distracted brain,
Burning, can nothing draw but death from thee."

The seventeenth sonnet,[16] translated by the same distinguished poet, will, if we are not mistaken, be new to English readers, and it is one of the most beautiful: —

"Lady, how can it chance — yet this we see
In our experience, that will longer last
A living visage carved from quarries vast
Than its own maker, who dies presently?
Cause yieldeth to effect if this so be,
And even nature is by art surpassed.
This know I, who to art have given the past,
But see that time breaking faith with me.
Perhaps on both of us long life can I
Either in color or in stone bestow,
By now portraying each in look and mien,
So that a thousand years after we die,
How fair thou wast, and I how full of woe,
And wherefore I so loved thee, may be seen."

Seeing the strong affection expressed in these poems, we can measure the deep sorrow which the poet felt when death removed its object from his sight. This sad event took place in February, 1547, at the house of Giuliano Cesarini, husband of Giulia Colonna, the last

[15] Sonnet XV. Guasti, p. 173. Translated by Professor H. W. Longfellow. This is the sonnet upon which Varchi commented before the Florentine Academy in 1546. On receiving the commentary from Luca Martini, Michelangelo wrote: "The sonnet indeed came from me, but the commentary comes from heaven; it is truly admirable, not only in my judgment, but in that of men of note, and especially of Messer Donato Giannotti, who is never tired of reading it. As for the sonnet, I know what it is; but however it may be, I cannot but feel a little proud of it since it has been the cause of a commentary so beautiful and so learned; and as in the author of it I feel myself, by reason of his words and praises, to be that which I am not, I pray you to express yourself to him from me in words suitable to his so great love, affection, and courtesy." — *Lettere pittoriche di Bottari*, Vol. V. p. 76. Gotti, op. cit. Vol. I. p. 249.

[16] Guasti, p. 175. Translated by Professor H. W. Longfellow.

surviving relative of the Marchesa. She had been carried there from the monastery when it was known that she could not recover, and Michelangelo was among those who stood near her bedside at the last, kissing her cold hand and weeping over it with many tears. But, although dead, she walked with him in spirit so long as he lived, inspiring him by her example, guiding him by her precepts, and sustaining him by her well-remembered counsels.

Of the four sonnets which he wrote after her death we shall quote two, that the reader may judge of its effect upon him:—

"When the prime mover of my many sighs
Heaven took through death from out her earthly place,
Nature, that never made so fair a face,
Remained ashamed, and tears were in all eyes.
O fate, unheeding my impassioned cries!
O hopes fallacious! O thou spirit of grace,
Where art thou now? Earth holds in its embrace
Thy lovely limbs, thy holy thoughts the skies.
Vainly did cruel Death attempt to stay
The rumor of thy virtuous renown,
That Lethe's waters could not wash away!
A thousand leaves, since he hath stricken thee down,
Speak of thee, nor to thee would heaven convey,
Except through death, a refuge and a crown." [17]

These lines must have been written in the first anguish of a grief whose intensity was too great to allow of any search for ingenious tropes and skilfully contrived metaphors, but the next sonnet would seem to have been composed when the writer's feelings were more under command, and artistic considerations had freer play:—

"When my rude hammer to the stubborn stone
Gives human shape, now that, now this, at will,
Following his hand who guides and wields it still,
It moves upon another's feet alone.
But he who dwells in Heaven all things doth fill
With beauty by pure motions of his own;
And since tools fashion tools which else were none,

[17] Sonnet XLII. Translated by Professor Longfellow, January 29, 1874.

His life makes all that lives with living skill.
Now for that every stroke excels the more
The closer to the forge it still ascend,
Her soul that quickened mine hath sought the skies:
Wherefore I find my toil will never end,
If God, the great artificer, denies
That tool which was my only aid before." [18]

In one of his letters [19] to Vittoria Colonna, Michelangelo mentions Tommaso de' Cavalieri,[20] a Roman gentleman of good family, and an amateur artist, to whom he wrote frequently in terms so passionate and so extravagantly eulogistic, that one of his late biographers suggests that they were really addressed to the Marchesa under cover of his name.[21] Did not our own and other languages furnish examples of prose and poetry in which friendship speaks with the voice of love,[22] or could we discover any reason why Michelangelo should have thus masked his correspondence with the Marchesa, we might accept this theory; but we are hardly inclined to do so, as he wrote to her and talked with her freely, and made no secret of his great admiration for her, while at the same time he lived on the most intimate terms with Cavalieri. His attachment to the young Roman, who was one of the few faithful attendants upon him in his last moments, showed itself also in deeds, as, for instance, when he sent him a drawing of the

[18] Sonnet XLI. Translated by J. A. Symonds, op. cit. Vol. II. Appendix II. Guasti (op. cit. p. 226) says that Michelangelo knew the doctrine of an earthly instrument made after a divine model, as expressed in Plato's Kratilus, from the Platonists of his day.

[19] No. CDLV., dated 1545. Milanesi, op. cit. p. 515.

[20] Benedetto Varchi, in his Lezione on one of Michelangelo's sonnets (Guasti, op. cit. p. 108), thus refers to Cavalieri: "I recognized in him such great amiability, and such an excellent mind with charm of manner, that he well deserved and still deserves to be most loved by those who know him best."

[21] Gotti, Vol. I. p. 231.

[22] M. de Montaiglon (op. cit. p. 283) refers to the "cultisme de l'Espagne et à l'euphuisme de l'Angleterre, qui ne sont que des imitations de l'Italie; quand on se souvient, par exemple, des hyperboles passionnées du recueil des sonnets de Shakspeare, addressés non pas à une femme mais à un homme, à ce jeune lord caché sans les initiales W. H., on s'étonne moins de l'extravagance des expressions employées par Michel Ange à l'endroit de Cavalieri."

Fall of Phaeton as a present, with these words: "Sir Tommaso, if this sketch does not please you, tell Urbino so, that I may find time to make you another as I promised, and if it does please, and you would like to have it, say so, that I may finish it for you."[23]

The following sonnet has no address, but there can be no doubt that it was written to Cavalieri, from the play upon his name in the last line which is lost in the English version by the substitution of the word "Knight" for "Cavalier," used in the original:—

"Why should I seek to ease intense desire
With still more tears and windy words of grief,
When heaven, or late or soon, sends no relief
To souls whom love hath robéd round with fire?
Why need my aching heart to death aspire,
When all must die? Nay, death beyond belief
Unto these eyes would be both sweet and brief,
Since in my sum of woes all joys expire!
Then, too, because I cannot shun the blow
I rather seek, say who must rule my breast,

[23] Besides the engraving by Beatrizet (B. Vol. XV. No. 33) there are two drawings of this composition, one of which is at Windsor in the Royal collection. The other, which formerly belonged to Mariette, became the property of M. Galichom, late editor of the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. Both are given as illustrations to an article, written by him, in the *Gazette* of March 1, 1874. The attitude of the sun-god, the grouping of the falling horses, are different in these two drawings, but the most important change is in the lower part of the design. In the Windsor drawing, beside the river-god, who pays no attention to the catastrophe, there are three nude figures gazing upward with gestures of affright; a man in the background bearing an amphora upon his shoulders; and a swan. In M. Galichom's drawing, the river-god looks up at the crashing chariot, and the three nude figures in a wood are half metamorphosed into trees. They illustrate the thirteenth canto of the *Inferno*, — the wood of suicides: —

"Uomini fummo, ed or sem fatti sterpi":
"Men once we were, and now are changed to trees."

Michelangelo also gave Cavalieri the cartoons which he had composed for Sebastiano del Piombo, and painted his portrait the size of life. This was a singular proof of affection, for Vasari tells us (Vol. XII. p. 272) that in this single instance only did he take the likeness of any one, "for he detested ('abboriva') drawing from life, unless the model was infinitely beautiful."

Gliding between her gladness and her woe?
If only chains and bonds can make me blest,
Nor marvel if alone and bare I go,
An armèd Knight's captive and slave confessed." [24]

Michelangelo's letters to Cavalieri are equally warm in tone, and are filled with praises suited to a Dante or a Shakespeare. "You must excuse me if I show myself incompetent to sail over the waves of the sea of your mighty genius; you must pardon me and not be angered at my failure, nor ask from me that which is not in me; because he who stands alone in all things cannot have companions in any. It is not strange that your Signory, being the unique light of our century in the world, should be unable to take pleasure in the work of any other person, having no one who is equal or like to yourself.[25] Sooner can I forget the food which poorly nourishes my body only, than your name, which nourishes both body and soul, filling both with such sweetness, that so long as memory preserves it I can feel neither weariness nor fear of death." [26]

It was not only about his own friends, but also about those of others who were dear to him, that Michelangelo wrote in terms of extravagant eulogy. Thus when Luigi del Riccio asked him to make a bust of his beloved pupil, Cecchino Bracci, who died at the age of sixteen, he replied in a sonnet, "As I cannot take his likeness I will take yours, which will be the same thing, as those who love are one," [27] and sent

[24] No. XXXI. Guasti, p. 189. Translated by J. A. Symonds, op. cit.

[25] Milanesi, op. cit. No. CDXI. p. 462. The letter is dated January 1, 1533, two years before Michelangelo is generally believed to have met Vittoria Colonna. Gotti (op. cit. Vol. I. p. 231) supposes that it is really written to her, and thus dates their acquaintance from 1533.

[26] Letter CDVI. Milanesi, p. 467.

[27] We give the sonnet (Milanesi, No. VIII. p. 162, dated 1544) as translated by Mr. Symonds, op. cit. :—

"Scarce had I seen for the first time his eyes,
Which to your living eyes are life and light,
When closed at last in death's injurious night
He opened them on God in Paradise.
I know it, and I weep, too late made wise:

him no less than forty-three epitaphs, of which the few here given are perhaps the most worthy of translation:[28] —

"No. 4. Death wished to slay, but yet without th' employ
Of years injurious, and hard days of need,
The beauty that lies here, so it might speed
With presence all unchanged into heaven's joy.

"No. 7. Here am I buried, who was born of late;
To whom came Death with such untimely speed,
That scarcely did my naked soul give heed,
In leaving earth, that she had changed her state.

"No. 9. The soul within from without is not seen,
As we see not the face this tomb shuts in.
Yet if in heaven were not as fair an inn,
Thus snatched by Death it surely had not been.

"No. 38. In this the monument speaks, —
With Braccio's, the sun of nature's day
For aye extinct, I here lock up and seal.
Death surely slew him, without sword or steel;
For flowers of spring small breeze doth bear away.

"No. 43. Erst mortal Cecchino, now I am divine:
Shut while on earth, but blessed in heaven for aye.
For such exchange my thanks to death I pay,
Who, used to taking life, to me gave mine."

This pathetic letter,[29] written by Luigi del Riccio to Donato Giannotti, shows how deeply he mourned over the death of this rare youth: —

"Alas, Messer Donato, our Cecchino is dead. I pray you to preserve the

Yet was the fault not mine; for death's fell spite
Robbed my desire of that supreme delight,
Which in thy better memory never dies.
Therefore, Luigi, if the task be mine
To make unique Cecchino smile in stone
Forever, now that earth hath made him dim,
If the beloved within the lover shine,
Since art without him cannot work alone,
Thee must I carve, to tell the world of him."

[28] The author is indebted to his friend, Professor Charles E. Norton, for these translations.

[29] Printed in Vol. II. of the *Opere di Donato Giannotti.*

memory of that love and reverence which we bore him, and that of his good and rare qualities, which had infinitely multiplied since your departure. Heaven, which always carries off the best, has taken him from us. All Rome weeps his loss. Messer Michelangelo has designed for me a beautiful monument[30] of marble, and I pray you to write the epitaph and send it to me with a letter of condolence, if it can be sent in time, for my heart is rent in twain. Patience; I live now with a thousand deaths every hour. O God! how fortune has changed for me!

"Your broken-hearted

"Luigi del Riccio."

Luigi might soon have had also to mourn for Michelangelo, had he not nursed him through a very dangerous illness at the Casa Strozzi, of which he was the intendant, after moving him from his own house, where he could not be properly cared for. Writing to Roberto de Filippo Strozzi, in answer to a letter of inquiry from Lyons, Luigi sends Michelangelo thanks for the shelter given him, and in his name asks Filippo to remind the King of France that he has offered to make his equestrian statue in bronze and erect it on the Piazza della Signoria at Florence, if he will restore the republic.[31]

We have many letters, or rather notes, from Michelangelo to Luigi between 1542 and 1547, the year of his death, which show how close was their friendship. In one he asks his advice as to a fitting present

[30] The monument was finished at the end of 1545, and placed in the church of Santa Maria in Ara Coeli. *Lettere* DIV., DVII., DVIII., DXVII. Prospetto, 391.

Cecchino's father, Zanali di Giovanni Battista, was a Florentine exile, whose property was confiscated on account of his resistance to the Medici. His mother was a Contessa dei Castellani.

[31] Gotti, Vol. I. p. 281, and Gaye, *Carteggio*, Vol. II. p. 296. Luigi's letter is dated July 21, 1544. In 1546 Michelangelo received a letter sent by Primaticcio, from King Francis I., dated February 8, asking him to make some work of art for him. In his answer, dated April 26, he says: "I am now old, and much occupied in the service of the Pope; but if I live long enough I will prepare a statue in marble, and one in bronze, and also a picture for your Majesty, as I have long desired to do. If I should die first, and we are permitted to sculpture and paint in the other world, where we shall no longer grow old, I will then perform my promise." Milanesi, *Lettere* No. CDLIX. p. 569.

for the Flemish composer, Archadelt, who had set two of his madrigals to music; in another he prays him to use his best endeavors to bring about a reconciliation between his faithful servant, Francesco d' Amadore, called Urbino, and a marble-worker named Giovanni de' Marchesi da Saltri, who had quarrelled about the work allotted to them upon the monument of Julius II.; in still another he confides to him his own annoyances concerning the final contract for that monument, and begs him to urge the Pope to settle his differences with the Duke of Urbino, bitterly exclaiming: "For my thirty-six years of faith in others, to whom I gave myself, I deserve my fate; painting and sculpture, fatigue and trust, have ruined me, and things go on from bad to worse. Better would it have been for me, if in my youth I had set myself to the making of sulphur matches, in which case I should have escaped this present misery."[32] In another letter he recounts to him the whole history of his connection with Pope Julius II.,[33] and once, for some unknown reason, writes thus angrily: "He who saved me from death may abuse me if he likes, but I know not which is the worst, abuse or death," signing himself in this strange fashion, "Michelagniolo Buonarroti, neither painter, sculptor, nor architect; but anything you like, excepting a drunkard, as I told you at home."[34]

In a like gust of sudden wrath, which shows that his irritable temper had not cooled with age, he sends the following lines to his nephew, who had hurried to Rome from Florence on hearing of his dangerous illness: "Lionardo, I have been ill, and you, by the advice of Ser Giovan Francesco, have come to kill me, and to see what property I have left. Did you not have enough of what belongs to me at Florence? You cannot deny that you are like your father, who drove me out of my own house at Florence. Learn that I have made my will in such a way that you will have no reason to trouble yourself about

[32] Milanesi, op. cit. No. CDXXXIV. p. 488, dated October, 1542.

[33] No. CDXXV. This letter is addressed to a Monsignore, and was perhaps given to Del Riccio that he might read it to the Pope.

[34] No. CDLX., dated 1546.

what I own at Rome. Be off, then, and do not venture into my presence, and never write to me again." [35]

We have no reason to suppose that this treatment was deserved, or to believe that Michelangelo himself thought what he said. He was really very fond of his nephew, and their quarrels were, like those of lovers, soon made up. One of his letters is addressed to "Lionardo Buonarroti, in Florence, beloved as if he were my son"; [36] and many are filled with counsel as to the selection of a proper person for him to marry. "What you want," he writes in one of these, "is a wife who will be docile and stay at home, not being inclined to pomps and vanities, or anxious for banquets and weddings every day in the week." [37]

When Lionardo at last fixed his choice on Cassandra de' Ridolfi, Michelangelo approved it most heartily, and wrote to say that he had commissioned a goldsmith from Urbino to find him a beautiful "set of pearls which he can present to her." Instead of these he ultimately sent her two rings, a diamond and a ruby, in an enamelled box, with instructions to have their value estimated, "as he is himself no connoisseur of such things, and wishes to be sure that he has not paid too much for them."

The two most touching letters of Michelangelo to his nephew [38] are those in which he tells him of the illness and death of his faithful and beloved servant Urbino, which caused him much sorrow. In the first he writes: "I am here in great anxiety about Urbino, who is dangerously ill; what will be the end of it I cannot say; if he were my son I could not be more grieved, both because he has served me faithfully for twenty-five years, and because I am old and can never find another who will be to me what he has been." In the next letter he thus announces the end: "Last night, at four o'clock, on the 3d of December, 1555, to my great sorrow, Francesco, called Urbino, passed

[35] No. CXLIX., dated July, 1544.

[36] No. CLX., dated January, 1546.

[37] No. CCLXIV., June 20, 1553.

[38] November 30 and December 4, 1555. Nos. CCLXXXIII. and CCLXXXIV.

from this life, leaving me so deeply afflicted, that for the love which I bore him it would have been sweeter for me to have died with him. He deserved indeed all that I could give him, for he was an honorable man, full of faith and loyalty: wherefore it seems to me that by his death I have become lifeless, and cannot find peace for my soul." To Giorgio Vasari he writes on the same subject: "You know of Urbino's death, in the which God has shown great mercy to me, though it has been to me a terrible loss and a cause of infinite grief. The mercy has been, that while living he kept me alive, dying he has taught me to die, not with reluctance, but with a longing for death. I kept him with me for twenty-five years, during which he was always loyal and faithful, and now that I had enriched him and hoped that he would be the staff and repose of my old age, he has left me with no other hope than that of seeing him again in Paradise." [39]

Michelangelo's affection for this faithful servant showed itself not only in words but in deeds of kindness to his widow, Cornelia, and to their children, one of whom bore his honored name. From Castel Durante, where she went to live with her relations after her husband's death, Cornelia wrote to tell him of her sorrow at having been obliged to part with two of his drawings to the Duke of Urbino, who had set his heart on having them and would not be refused, and to beg him to write to her and tranquillize her mind, which will not be at peace until she knows that he is content.[40] In another letter she relates how a certain "Abbate" and her own father have tried to induce her to marry a good-for-nothing fellow who has an eye to her property, and thus expresses her feelings towards Michelangelo: "The loving courtesy which your Signory has always shown me and my children has been such that I can truly say it has far surpassed that of my father, my mother, or any of my relations. Knowing this to be so in truth, I have always loved, obeyed, and revered you as my most loving father and patron, and have always been most ready

[39] February 23, 1556. Letter CDLXXVII.

[40] Gotti, Vol. I. pp. 334, 335.

to serve, honor, and obey you, nor have I ever thought of doing anything without first obtaining your consent and advice."[41] Could there be a better proof of the affection with which Michelangelo inspired his dependants, than the letter of this worthy woman, who signs herself, "Your loving daughter, Cornelia"?

One of his most devoted followers and admirers in these latter years of his life was Giorgio Vasari, whose biography of him in the *Lives of the Painters* is the only one of a then living artist. The filial affection of Vasari for Michelangelo, who was thirty-seven years his senior, met with a warm recognition, as many letters attest. "Could I believe myself to be in any way what you think me," he writes in one of these, "I should rejoice for no other reason than that it would prove that you have a servant of some value. But I do not wonder that you, being a resuscitator of dead men, can prolong the lives of the living, or, in other words, that you can keep off death for a long time from those whose lives have been ill-spent."[42]

In the same affectionate and half-sportive tone he writes a few months later: "Dear friend Giorgio, you will say that I am too old and crazy to write sonnets, but I choose to do so, because many say that I am in my second childhood. Your letter shows how much you love me, etc."

He then excuses himself for refusing to accept the Grand Duke's pressing invitation to return to Florence, on the ground of duty to the great work of building St. Peter's. "If I went away, now that I have served eight years, not only without compensation, but with great annoyance and injury to myself, when I have at last got money to spend, and am about to vault the cupola, it would be the ruin of the building, which would be a disgrace to all Christendom and a great sin upon my soul.[43] Tell this to the Duke, and commend me to him. Dear Messer Giorgio, I know that you know that I am near my last

[41] Gotti, op. cit. Vol. I. p. 336. Cornelia afterwards married a lawyer at Gubbio named Giulio Brunelli, with whom she lived happily.

[42] April, 1554. No. CDLXXII.

[43] May 11, 1555, June 22. No. CDLXXVI.

hour, and that death is ever in my thoughts. God grant me a few years more of life."

There were other reasons which made Michelangelo refuse to return to Florence, or he would have gone there in the summer of 1556, when he made a pilgrimage to Loreto and passed more than a month at a convent in the mountains near Spoleto. He was ill, and knew that the Tuscan air was not good for him,[44] and he wanted rest, which he could not have found at the Florentine court, where every one would have labored to do him honor.

Rome was then threatened by the Spanish army under the Duke of Alva, and filled with alarm at the prospect of a siege whose anticipated terrors were enhanced by the recollection of the last visit of Spanish troops under the Constable de Bourbon; all work at St. Peter's was for the time suspended; and as Michelangelo was too old to fight, and too ill to bear the trials and sufferings incident to war, he prudently withdrew to await the moment when he should be able to resume his work.

In a letter to his nephew[45] he mentions that when all work at St. Peter's ceased he went to Loreto on a pilgrimage ("per alcuna mia divozione"), and that, being weary when he arrived at Spoleto, he remained there until he was sent for by the Pope. Writing to Vasari, December 29, 1556, he says, "I obeyed the summons with considerable reluctance, having greatly enjoyed my visits to certain hermits living in the mountains near that town, and discovered that peace is only to be found in the woods."

[44] In a letter to the deputies of the Florentine Academy, written after Michelangelo's death, Grazzini, Secretary of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, says, on the authority of Daniel of Volterra, that the great artist "absented himself from his beloved Florence only on account of the quality of the air, experience having taught him that it was inimical to his constitution on account of its sharp and subtile nature, while the softer and more tempered climate of Rome kept him in good health up to his ninetieth year, with all his faculties as perfect and vigorous as they ever had been, and with such strength, considering his great age, that up to the last day of his life he was able to work." See the *Esequie del Divino Michelagnolo ristampato sull' edizione dei Giunti*, 1564. Firenze. 1875. p. 23.

[45] October 31, 1556. No. CCXCIX.

It is not astonishing that, being eighty-one years old, he should have preferred the quiet of this temporary retreat to his necessarily disturbed existence at Rome, where demands were constantly made upon him, to some of which he could not refuse to listen. Among these were the flattering request of Catharine de' Medici that he would design an equestrian statue of her murdered husband, Henry II. of France;[46] and that of his countrymen that he would make plans for the completion of San Giovanni, the church of the Florentines at Rome.[47] Pope Pius IV. also asked him to make designs for a monument to his brother, the Marquis of Marignano,[48] to be placed in the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, and also for the Porta Pia at Rome.[49] As his hand now trembled so that it could not draw a straight line, Michelangelo was obliged to dictate these plans to Tiberio Calcagni, one of his assistants. Three years before his death he virtually gave up his superintendence of the works at St. Peter's, though he received daily accounts of their progress from his subordinates.

Early in the year 1564 it became evident that his life could not be greatly prolonged, and on the 15th of February his friend Diomede Lioni wrote to Lionardo Buonarroti: "I advise you to come as soon as possible from Florence, starting immediately, but not hurrying over-

[46] The Queen's autograph letter is dated from Blois, November 14, 1559. Gotti, op. cit. Vol. I. pp. 349, 350. Daniel of Volterra modelled the horse under Michelangelo's eyes, and it was cast in 1565. In 1639 it was placed in the Place Royale at Paris with a statue of Louis XIII. upon its back. In 1793 it shared the fate of so many other royal monuments.

[47] This church was begun by Antonio da Sangallo. Michelangelo's designs for its completion, drawn by Tiberio Calcagni, were made in 1559 and 1560, but were never carried out, owing to the great expense which they would have necessitated.

[48] The monument executed by Leone Leoni for the cathedral at Milan is described in my work on *Italian Sculptors*, p. 156.

[49] The contract for this gate is dated 1561. The greater part of the sculpture upon it was made by Jacopo del Duca, a Sicilian sculptor, who also designed the Baldacchino in the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, which was built after Michelangelo's plans out of the ruins of the Baths of Diocletian.

much, because if, as God forbid, the master's life is in danger, you cannot get here with the utmost haste in time to find him alive; for, owing to his great age and his disease, he cannot live a great while. . . . . You may be certain in your absence that Messer Tommaso del Cavalieri, Messer Daniele [Ricciarelli, the painter], and I will not fail in our duty. Besides which Antonio del Francesco [who had succeeded Urbino as manager of Michelangelo's household], the master's old and faithful servant, is one who will do himself credit in any possible circumstances in which it may please God to place him. . . . . To give you an account of the master's condition at this moment, it being the third hour of the night, I will tell you that I just now left him in full possession of his faculties, but troubled with constant drowsiness. He got on horseback this afternoon, according to his usual habit when the weather is good, to chase it away, but the coldness of the weather and the weakness of his head and limbs made it impossible for him to ride, and he returned to his chair by the fire, which he much prefers to his bed." Two days later another letter was despatched to hasten the coming of Lionardo, and on the next day, February 18th, the great artist breathed his last with these words upon his lips:[50] "I give my soul to God, my body to the earth, and my worldly goods to my nearest relations, charging them through life to keep in remembrance the sufferings of Jesus Christ."[51]

The feelings with which he met death breathe in the beautiful sonnet to Vasari, written ten years before it came to set his spirit free:—

"The course of my long life has reached at last,
In fragile bark o'er a tempestuous sea,
The common harbor, where must rendered be
Account of all the actions of the past.
The impassioned fantasy, that, vague and vast,
Made art an idol and a king to me,
Was an illusion, and but vanity

[50] M. de Montaiglon (op. cit.) says he was exactly eighty-eight years and fifteen days old.

[51] Vasari, Vol. XII. p. 269.

Were the desires that lured me and harassed.
The dreams of love, that were so sweet of yore,
What are they now, when two deaths may be mine,
One sure, and one forecasting its alarms?
Painting and sculpture satisfy no more
The soul now turning to the Love Divine
That oped, to embrace us, on the cross its arms."[52]

Lionardo Buonarroti arrived at Rome three days after the death of his uncle, as we know from the letter written by Daniel of Volterra to Vasari, which also informs us that in accordance with the express wish of Michelangelo he ordered that the body should be removed to Florence. So great, however, was the love of the Romans for the illustrious dead, and so desirous was the Pope to give his remains the peculiar honor of burial at St. Peter's, that it was found necessary to send the corpse to Florence as a bale of merchandise. It remained at the Custom-House until the 11th of March, when it was transferred to the church of San Piero Maggiore preparatory to its removal to Santa Croce. The funeral obsequies were celebrated, with the utmost pomp and circumstance, at the church of San Lorenzo, under the direction of Vasari, Bronzino, Cellini, and Ammanati, deputed for that purpose by the Academy of Artists, and the oration was pronounced by Benedetto Varchi.

That Duke Cosimo should do everything in his power to make the ceremonies memorable, and that all the artists in the city should assemble to do honor to him whom they regarded as their chief, was to be expected; but no one could have foretold how universal a homage would be paid to Michelangelo by the people of his native city. "Perceiving the intense feeling of the multitude, and thinking that it would content many," says Grazzini in his account to the deputies

[52] Sonnet LXV., written to Vasari and sent to him with these lines: "My dear Messer Giorgio, you will say that I am old and mad to wish to write sonnets; but as many say I have fallen into second childhood, I have chosen to do what I can, etc. 19th September, 1554. Your Michelagniolo Buonarroti at Rome." Professor H. W. Longfellow's hitherto unpublished translation of this sonnet bears date January 28, 1874.

already referred to,[53] "the prior, who, as he afterwards confessed, desired to see him dead whom he had never seen living, or had seen when so young that he had hardly any recollection of his appearance, decided to have the coffin opened, which, as you will believe, met the wishes of all; so, entering into the sacristy, he gave the necessary orders. Both he and we expected to find the body in a state of decomposition, as it had lain in the coffin twenty-two days or more, and had been dead twenty-five; but when it was opened no bad odor came from it, and you would have sworn that it was lying in a sweet and most quiet sleep. The lines of the face and the complexion, saving a somewhat deathly pallor, were unchanged, no limb was injured, or in any way disagreeable to look upon; and when we touched the head and cheeks, as all did, to our wonder we found them flexible and natural, as if life had departed but a few hours before."

Thus the last impression of Michelangelo's face was solemn and peaceful, and since, as often happens after death, many deeply furrowed lines had disappeared, wore a more youthful appearance than in life. We could wish that for us also some marks of suffering and disappointment could be smoothed away from it, or at least that we had some likeness of him in his youth, so that we could know how he looked before he had fought his battle and won his crown. Could such a portrait be found, the world would greet it with the same feelings of delight with which it greeted the recovered portrait of the young Dante, painted by Giotto on the wall at the Bargello before the sorrows of exile had left their deep and solemn impress upon his well-known features. This can never be, nor can we by the utmost effort of imagination smooth out the wrinkles, straighten the crushed nose, fill out the sunken cheeks, and give color to the whitened locks of Michelangelo, but must ever think of him as a man advanced in years and burdened with care. We would not, indeed, exchange these evidences of past struggles for the fresh smoothness of youth, for they are precious to us as records of the efforts which made him what he was;

[53] *Esequie*, etc. p. 27.

but we would gladly know how he looked before he entered upon them, if only that we might estimate their intensity. So if we stood upon a battle-field where a nation had lately won its freedom, and saw the deep ruts made by cannon-wheels, and the marks of the trampling hoofs of victorious legions, we should not indeed desire to restore the once green expanse to its former smoothness, if at the cost of effacing the memory of brave deeds there done, but we might wish that we had seen it as it once was, that we could the better estimate the price which brave men have paid for victory.

Condivi[54] tells us that Michelangelo was somewhat sickly in his younger days, and describes him in his seventy-ninth year "as of middle height, with broad shoulders and thin legs, having a large head, a face small in proportion to the size of his skull, a square forehead, full temples, high-cheek bones, and a nose made flat by the fist of that beastly and proud man, Torrigiano de' Torrigiani." "His lips," he adds, "are thin, and the lower, being the larger, appears to protrude slightly when his face is seen in profile. His eyebrows are sparse; his eyes small, gray, spotted with yellow and blue lights, and ever varying; his ears of just proportion; his hair, once black, is streaked with gray, as is his thin forked beard, which is four or five fingers' breadth in length." In all important particulars the portraits known to us[55] corroborate

[54] *Vita di Michelangelo*, pp. 57, 58. Vasari's description (Vol. XII. p. 270) tallies with that of Condivi.

[55] In a valuable pamphlet by Mr. C. E. Drury Fortnum, on the original portrait by Leo Leone, called *Il Cavaliere Aretino*, containing a complete list of all the portraits of Michelangelo, he says that seven only, including busts, medals, and paintings, can be considered authentic likenesses, namely: 1. A bronze bust at the capital supposed to be by Daniel of Volterra, and the original of all the bronze busts of Michelangelo attributed to various artists of the sixteenth century. 2. A posthumous bust in marble modelled from a mask taken after death. 3. Leo Leone's medal (see tail-piece to this Chapter), of which Mr. Fortnum owns the wax original, which he discovered and identified. 4. A figure in the foreground of Daniel of Volterra's fresco of the Assumption of the Virgin in the church of Santa Trinita at Rome. 5. A head painted by Marcello Venusti in his copy of the Last Judgment. 6. A portrait by the same painter at the Casa Buonarroti. 7. The engraving by Giulio Buonasoni which forms the title-page of Condivi's *Life of Michelangelo*. See Appendix D.

the exactness of this description. The face even in youth can never have been handsome, though its energy, earnestness, and intelligence must at all times have made it interesting. It is the face of a man who would put his will into whatever work he had on hand, making that for the time his one object in life. This, indeed, Michelangelo did in all relations and occupations; for whether we look at him as artist, patriot, son, brother, or friend, we see that his whole soul was absorbed in present work. In all respects he was one of the most remarkable men the world has known, so multiple were his intellectual gifts, so admirable were his moral attributes. While Raphael is like a crystal sphere, "teres atque rotundus," Michelangelo is like a diamond cut in facets, each one of which, as we turn the precious stone in our hand, catches and throws out fresh rays of light.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

THE MEDICI COLLECTIONS.

See Chapter II. page 38, note 11.

LORENZO DE' MEDICI, says Niccolo Valori, took the liveliest interest in all antique objects. Those who wished to do him a pleasure brought him coins and bronzes and antiquities of every kind from every quarter of the globe, but he showed them only to those who could appreciate them. When Federigo, Duke of Urbino, saw them, he said, "I behold here a royal treasure-house, yet such as no king is able to gather either by money or power or rapine." Giovanni Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, said he too could show treasures, but the finest things in all the world were collected in the house of a private man, Lorenzo de' Medici. Commines estimated the value of the rings, cameos, agates, and nearly three thousand gold and silver medals destroyed or carried off from the Medici Palace in November, 1494, when it was plundered by the soldiers of Charles VIII. and by the Florentines, at one hundred thousand crowns.

The treasures of the Medici were collected in various ways. The engraved gems and precious stones brought together by Paul III. came for the most part into their hands through Giovanni Tornabuoni. Busts of Augustus and Agrippa were presented by Sixtus IV. to Cosmo de' Medici, and some vases of chalcedony and engraved stones were bought at Rome, where, as well as at Siena, agents were employed in 1484, 1488, and 1490, to make purchases. (See Gaye, *Carteggio*, l. c. i. 285, 286, and 290.) Vasari, in his *Life of Giuliano da Sangallo*, Vol. VII. p. 213, speaks of presents made to Lorenzo by Don Ferrante, and of a Greek vase given to him by Maestro Zaccaria Barbaro; and Gaye (op. cit. l. c. p. 304) of gifts from the Malatesta. Lorenzo placed the

antique marbles along the shady alleys in the Gardens of St. Mark, and the cartoons and pictures in the Casino, where they could be studied by the young artists who frequented them.

An account of the Medici treasures is given in A. von Reumont's *Lorenzo de' Medici*, translated by Robert Harrison, Vol. II. p. 367, *et seq.*

APPENDIX B.

See Chapter VIII. page 225.

BY the kind permission of Dr. T. W. Parsons we print here the whole of his eloquent poem, written to be read at the celebration of the four hundredth birthday of Michelangelo by the Woman's Club of Boston, from which certain passages are given in this volume.

THE BIRTHDAY OF MICHELANGELO.

Boston to Florence, greeting, on the morn
Dear to Art's children, even in Art's young land,
Sends — "*Joy! — this day thy four-souled man was born!*"

One of his country's poets named him so;
And we accept the phrase, and would expand.

I.

When the first man of Europe could conceive
That Syrian Shepherd, in the Ducal Square,
One soul he surely had; and that he gave
His first love, Sculpture, moulding marble so
That when his David was unveiled, — the young
Champion of Israel, such as men believed
Once ruled in Jewry, — it is writ, a low
Murmur went through the multitude, as when
The sacred Host is lifted, and the crowd,
Though clad in corselets, drop adoring down!
That boyish triumph bears no more, with us,
The lofty meed that Florence then bestowed,
Since the youth's manhood went so far beyond
The Son of Jesse, — what a giant stride
From him to Moses! — Then was Art's high flood.

II.

Mid the white marble crags of Luni's hills,
Whose sides the peasant, nestling near their base,
Above the village of Carrara, tills,
He had a cavern for his dwelling-place;
Like Aruns, the great soothsayer, whose home
Dante hath pictured in the verse above.
Brave master! laboring like a quarry-slave
Among rough men, hard-handed and dark-eyed,
Making himself coarse-fingered as themselves,
Till his right hand had almost lost her cunning;
Yet with his left he gave those Fates that face!
See the weird women! Clotho stands behind
Wielding her distaff, — then the one who spins
And rules the threads, — and she who cuts them off:
O Atropos! unchangeable, — the Greeks
Gave thee that name; but when thy severing steel
Comes near the silver cord of such a life,
We must remember, if we keep our faith,
That though ye fashion destiny to-day,
Thou and thy sisters are but mortal too,
And have no office in the life to come.

III.

Now for the builder, — he the lofty rhyme
Could also build: but now we speak of him
Who might have bridged the Hellespont, but chose
Rather to work for Christendom, and serve
The Servant of the servants of his God.[1]

He labored for his Italy. Who else,
Following the lead of Brunelleschi's dome,
Saint Mary of the Lily, could have made
The church which Jesus planted on a Rock
To hang forevermore in Rome's blue air?

IV.

Was he a poet? Who shall give response
To this high question for the court supreme

[1] Servus servorum Dei, Leo X.

Of the eternal ages? We must bow,
Being fast frost-bound in this realm of prose,
To Italy, who has declared him one
Second to Petrarch seldom, in the nerve
Of his grave sonnets, whether love was Lord
Of the strict verse, or intellect alone.
He was no singer in the modern strain
Of bugle-songs and Balaklava blasts,
Ravens and Bells, most musically mingled,
Yet not much more than melody to a mind
That seeks in poesy the food of Thought:
The pomp of Opera had not been born,
And thought and feeling had not died in words,
Words poor in sense, though silvered o'er with sound.

V.

Now give to Michelangelo a name
Past Pindemonte's four,[2] — that highest one
Of patriot soul, — for whosoever works
Without a country, in whatever art,
Counts as an artist only second best.

O stately city, — Florence of the West!
Since Charles and Arno have grown kindred streams
(Our great Song-master being at home by both),
Laurentian city! many sons of thine
And noble daughters have in Florence marked
The Mediceàn chapel, and the shrine
Where Cosmo sleeps in marble, and the words
On the black slab graved, — "Pater Patriæ,"
Which now we borrow for our Washington:
In my mind's eye I figure such a group;
And haply some one, looking fondly round,
Dazed with such splendor, says, — if English born,
To some fair cousin of his blood, perchance
Pilgrim o'er seas to Latium's holy land, —
"Look there, my Lady! see Lorenzo's tomb!

[2] This expression refers to a phrase used by the Italian poet Ippolito Pindemonte, designating Michelangelo as the four-souled man (nom di quattr' alme), in allusion to his having been a sculptor, a painter, an architect, and a poet.

O Day and Night — but this is wondrous strange!"
And she gives answer, if of his degree:
"Most strange, indeed, to see those half-born things
Out of dead marble starting into life!
The perfect somnolence, in slumber locked;
And under that vast quietude, the grief
Of one who seems to have forever lost
Some great and honored object. Such are we,
Losing that model which our youth designed;
But we may win it back again through grace,
Unless the good seed, dropped on barren ground
Of stony hearts, find no more nourishment
Than roses could on yon huge heaps of lime."

On those grand forms, one of the Strozzi wrote
This choicest compliment in choice Italian,
Poet penned ever, — purely Florentine
(For Florence is the flower of compliment,
And always bore the lily on her shield):
"The Night which thou beholdest, bound in deep
And sweet repose, an Angel's hand did hew
Out of this rock, — and though she is asleep
Breathes — doubt'st thou? Wake her — she will speak to you."
Whereto, in language we may never match,
The grief-worn patriot gave sublime reply:
"'T is well to slumber, best to be of stone,
While shame endures and Florence is not free;
So, lest I waken, ah! subdue thy tone;
Methinks 't is blessed not to hear nor see."

APPENDIX C.

See Chapter VII. page 180.

THE following account of the tapestries of Raphael during the French Revolution is taken from an article by E. Muntz, published in the *Chronique des Arts* for the 14th and 28th of July, 1877:—

"The eight tapestries mentioned by Millin (*Magasin Encyclopœdique*, t. III. p. 374, 1797), as exposed in the Louvre in 1797, were probably Gobelin copies executed under Louis XIV., now preserved in the Garde Meuble.

"The originals were not exhibited until 1797, as is proved by a document entitled *Notice des Tapisseries*, etc., published by M. Muntz. In the Preface to this notice it is stated that the government commissioners bought these nine tapestries after Raphael, at the sale of the 'mobilier du Pape,' which took place at Rome immediately after the subversion of the Papal government by the French. (See Duppa, 'A Brief Account,' etc. pp. 58–63. London. 1799. 2d ed.) At this sale the company of brokers which followed the army was allowed to buy what it pleased on its own terms, and what remained was purchased by the Jews of the Ghetto. The tapestries of Raphael were appraised at twelve hundred piastres each by an employé of the Vatican, to which the company of brokers added fifty piastres. No objection being raised, they were sold for twelve hundred and fifty piastres apiece, or about seven thousand francs. With the exception of the Descent into Limbo, they were exhibited in the Louvre for the space of two years. At the end of that time they were given back to the company of brokers represented by MM. Coen and Nouvel, as the government declined to purchase. Until 1808, when they were restored to the Vatican, nothing is known of their history. M. Muntz publishes in his article (July 28th) documents from the library of the Louvre."

APPENDIX D.

See Chapter X. page 269, note 55.

TO the portraits of Michelangelo, mentioned in the text, we may add an engraving in the Royal collection at Berlin, which is reproduced in the *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, Vol. XI. p. 64, with a short article by J. E. Wessely, the well-known author of several valuable works upon engraving. Wessely claims that this bold and forcible head was not only drawn but also engraved by Michelangelo himself, and that it is the original from which Giorgio Ghisi worked (B. 71). The head is treated with great vigor, and in style of work resembles a pen-and-ink drawing. The profile head by Buonasoni, which forms the title-page to Condivi's *Life of Michelangelo*, and the above-mentioned engraving by Ghisi, are the only two contemporary engraved portraits of the great master, and from them have sprung the modern engravings by François, Normand, Meulemeester, Potrelle, and others. Besides these there is a head engraved by I. Matham, with the inscription, "Ad vivum delineatus, prout est Romae in monte Trinitatis." It is not known who made the original drawing, but the engraver cannot have worked from the life, as he lived at Rome a century after Michelangelo's death.

APPENDIX E.

See Chapter IX. page 241, note 26.

"LE Tournoi sous Pie IV. dans la cour du Vatican. Deux chevaliers la lance en arrêt, se précipitent l'un sur l'autre, tandis que divers autres se tiennent tout autour à cheval et qu'un grand nombre de spectateurs garnissent les tribunes et les loges. A droite on voit s'élever la coupole de St. Pierre en construction. Sur une tablette du haut l'inscription: Mostra della giostra fatta nel teatro di Palazzo Ridotto in questo forma della Sta. di N. S. Pio IV. come si vede nella pianta della stampa con sue misure. Le chiffre HB fecit, et où le trait du H. est une barre et non un c, se trouve à la droit du bas. H. 16 p. L. 21 p. 2 L.

"Francfort s/m. Piece a l'eau forte." — *Passavant*, Vol. IV. p. 96, Appendix No. 3.

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